

10/10 - NYT - Reports are that Congress secretly approved ca. \$250m in further covert military aid to Afghan rebels. The money is for ammunition, small arms, grenade launchers & anti-helicopter defense weapons. A Senate source said:

"It will enable them to replenish their stocks," he said. "It's a one-time replenishment. There is nothing being introduced that is brand new or especially esoteric. It's the kind of thing easily available anywhere in the world."

He said he could not confirm reports that the weapons might include the British-made Blowpipe portable missile system, used by Britain in the Falkland war with Argentina in 1982.

Likely to Be a Summit Issue

The issues of the six-year Soviet combat role and the covert aid being given by several countries to the Afghan rebels are virtually certain to be raised in the meeting in Geneva next month between President Reagan and Mikhail S. Gorbachev, the Soviet leader.

There was some annoyance in Congress over the latest aid request because the Reagan Administration asked for the money late last month, immediately before the end of the 1985 fiscal year, the source said.

He said there was some concern over the size of the request. "We're reaching a position where a lot of us think there should be more debate on this program," the source said. "There is a lot of money involved."

The money will be funneled to the Afghan rebels through the Central Intelligence Agency, the source said. He said the House and Senate intelligence committees approved the transfer of the money last month from secret C.I.A. accounts appropriated for the 1985 fiscal year.

Money Is Reprogrammed

By reprogramming C.I.A. money that had been appropriated for a previous fiscal year, the Reagan Administration made the funds available for the 1986 and 1987 fiscal years. The committee actions did not require votes by the full House and Senate because the money had already been approved by Congress.

One source said the C.I.A. had asked Senators Dave Durenberger, Republican of Minnesota, and Patrick J. Leahy, Democrat of Vermont, the chairman and ranking minority member of the Senate Intelligence Committee, to approve the reprogramming on their own authority without consulting other members of the panel. "They refused," the source said, adding that the decision was made by the full committee.

10/12 - PT - Fierce fighting is reported around Kabul. DRA troops seem to be trying to establish a security belt around the city.

- The embassies of Japan, Britain, France, West Germany & the US in Kabul protested to the DRA about helicopters "buzzing" their compounds.

10/13 - NYT - Indian Prime Minister Rajiv Gandhi rejected the idea that Pakistan needs American military assistance to counter a threat from Soviet troops in Afghanistan. He maintained that "Pakistan's got a vested interest in keeping the Afghan issue alive."

10/20 - A delegation, headed by Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, representing the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen arrived in New York to lobby for a seat in the Organization of Islamic Community & the UN (see 10/25).

10/23 - NYT - The widow of Shahnawaz Bhutto, who was found dead in his apartment in Cannes on 7/17, has been detained by French police who are investigating her husband's death. 23-year-old Rehana Bhutto is the daughter of Shah Moh'd Dost.

10/23 - NYT - Shah Moh'd Dost addressed the UN at the 40th anniversary sessions yesterday:



It is regrettable that we are celebrating the 40th anniversary of the establishment of this organization when, as a result of the policy of all-out confrontation and unbridled

arms race pursued by imperialism, the world is precariously tottering on the edge of the abyss of a nuclear catastrophe, which threatens not only the entire civilization but also the very existence of any form of life on earth. Nothing could be more distant from the dreams and ideals of the authors and signatories of the United Nations Charter.

From Southeast to Southwest Asia and the whole Indian Ocean, from Palestine and the Middle East to South Africa and Namibia and from Central America to the whole of Latin America, imperialist policies, aided and abetted in certain parts of the world by hegemonism and local stooges, have not only brought about bloodshed and destruction but have also impaired the ability of the United Nations to adopt, on behalf of the international community, effective measures aimed at putting an end to aggression and occupation and correcting the injustice done.

10/24 - NYT - Pres. Zia at the UN:

Because of time constraints, the war in Afghanistan, of deep concern to both countries, did not come up at General Zia's meeting with Mr. Gandhi today. But the general raised the issue in his speech before the General Assembly.

Characterizing the United Nations as "the authentic voice of humanity's conscience," he praised it for calling for the withdrawal of foreign forces from Afghanistan, the restoration of the country's independence and non-aligned status, the right of self-determination and the return of refugees.

"Only an end to this foreign military intervention can restore freedom to the Afghan people and bring salvation to the millions who have been forced to flee their homeland," General Zia said. "Pakistan cannot remain unconcerned over the tragedy of the Afghan people, who are linked to us by indestructible bonds of common geography and history and a glorious spirit and cultural heritage."

10/24 - NYT - Pres. Reagan in an interview in New York:

Mr. Reagan said he would raise the issue of the Soviet intervention in Afghanistan with Mr. Gorbachev.

"It is clear that the Afghan spirit of independence cannot be crushed, that continued war will only mean more bloodshed and that only a political solution is possible," Mr. Reagan said.

"The Soviets claim that they, too, believe in a negotiated settlement. I will be asking General Secretary Gorbachev in Geneva whether, if that is so, he is willing to address the crucial issue: withdrawal of the more than 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan and the restoration of that country's independence and nonalignment."

"The way to solve regional problems is through dialogue and negotiations, not invasion and occupation."

10/24 - CBS Evening News reported that buried in a Congressional bill is an amendment to make surplus equipment lying around in military installations throughout the country available to Afghan guerrillas.

10/25 - NYT - Pres. Reagan at the UN:

Our own position is clear: As the oldest nation of the New World, as the first anticolonial power, the United States rejoiced when decolonization gave birth to so many new nations after World War II. We have always supported the right of the people of each nation to define their own destiny. We have given \$300 billion since 1945 to help people of other countries. And we've tried to help friendly governments defend against aggression, subversion and terror.

We have noted with great interest similar expressions of peaceful intent by leaders of the Soviet Union. I am not here to challenge the good faith of what they say. But isn't it important for us to weigh the record, as well?

4 In Afghanistan, there are 118,000 Soviet troops prosecuting war against the Afghan people.

4 In Cambodia, 140,000 Soviet-backed Vietnamese soldiers wage a war of occupation.

4 In Ethiopia, 1,700 Soviet advisers are involved in military planning and support operations along with 2,500 Cuban combat troops.

4 In Angola, 1,200 Soviet military advisers involved in planning and supervising combat operations along with 35,000 Cuban troops.

4 In Nicaragua, some 8,000 Soviet bloc and Cuban personnel, including about 3,500 military and secret police personnel.

All of these conflicts, some of them under way for a decade, originate in local disputes but they share a common characteristic: they are the consequence of an ideology imposed

from without, dividing nations and creating regimes that are, almost from the day they take power, at war with their own people. And in each case, Marxism-Leninism's war with the people becomes war with their neighbors.

These wars are exacting a staggering human toll and threaten to spill across national boundaries and trigger dangerous confrontations. Where is it more appropriate than right here at the United Nations to call attention to Article 2 of our Charter, which instructs members to refrain "from the use, or threat or use of force against the territorial integrity or political independence of any state." . . .

Last year I proposed from this podium that the United States and Soviet Union hold discussions on some of these issues, and we have done so. But I believe these problems need more than talk.

'Progress on Three Levels'

For that reason, we are proposing, and are fully committed to support, a regional peace process that seeks progress on three levels:

First, we believe the starting point must be a process of negotiation among the warring parties in each country I've mentioned, which, in the case of Afghanistan, includes the Soviet Union. The form of these talks may and should vary, but negotiations and an improvement of internal political conditions are essential to achieving an end to violence, the withdrawal of foreign troops and national reconciliation.

There is a second level: Once negotiations take hold and the parties directly involved are making real progress, representatives of the United States and the Soviet Union should sit down together. It is not for us to impose any solutions in this separate set of talks. Such solutions would not last. But the issue we should address is how best to support the ongoing talks among the warring parties. In some cases, it might well be appropriate to consider guarantees for any agreements already reached. But in every case the primary task is to promote this goal: verified elimination of the foreign military presence and restraint on the flow of outside arms.

And finally, if these first two steps are successful, we could move on to the third: welcoming each country back into the world economy so its citizens can share in the dynamic growth that other developing countries, countries that are at peace, enjoy. Despite past differences with these regimes, the United States would respond generously to their democratic reconciliation with their own people, their respect for human rights and their return to the family of free nations.

10/25 - NYT - Mujahideen not quite at the UN:

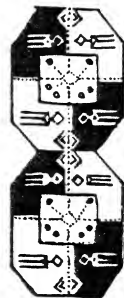
Some people at the United Nations today were protesting their inability to enter the General Assembly, not as visitors for the day but as permanent representatives.

Leaders of seven opposition forces in Afghanistan delivered a letter to the Secretary General demanding the right to Afghanistan's seat in the United Nations.

The coalition, calling itself the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen, wrote in the letter that the Government of President Babrak Karmal was a "puppet regime" of the Soviet Union and was not entitled to a seat in the world organization.

Gulbudin Hekmatyar, a spokesman for the coalition, said through an interpreter that the alliance planned to "make contact with all delegates of the United Nations of friendly countries." He said it wanted to "convince them that the condemnation of the Russian invasion on the one hand, and recognition of the representative of the Government at the United Nations on the other hand, is a contradiction."

The letter was handed to guards at the United Nations Pass Office, who said they would forward it to the Secretary General's office.



FAMILY CIRCLE

STEWART SLAVIN, West Asia manager for *United Press International*, spent five days inside Afghanistan with the Mujahadeen guerrillas at the scene of the biggest Soviet offensive of the six-year Afghan war. This is his report from Khowst:

THE FLOOR of the desolate moonscape valley shuddered and shook under the relentless air bombardment. A Soviet MiG roared high overhead, a small speck in the bright sky.

Out of frustration, Omar angrily pointed his captured AK-47 toward the distant target and fired off a round — a hollow gesture in the unequal battle between ragged Islamic guerrillas and the might of the Soviet army.

It was one of several scenes of frustration I witnessed during five days spent with anti-Soviet Muslims in the rugged Khowst Valley, scene of the biggest Russian offensive since Moscow's forces invaded the impoverished nation on December 27, 1979.

The Soviets launched the offensive in August against rebels and their supply lines in eastern Afghanistan's Pakia Province, bordering Pakistan. Western diplomats said the losses were heavy on both sides.

Hundreds of rebel wounded fill hospitals across the border in Peshawar, Pakistan, and, according to diplomats, in the Afghan capital of Kabul the hospitals are packed with the injured from the Afghan and Russian armies.

The Soviet invasion of its southern neighbour six years ago was expected to be a quick military operation to bolster a new puppet regime under attack by anti-communist guerrillas. But the Kremlin underestimated the Moslem rebels and wound up pouring more than 115,000 troops into the landlocked country the size of France.

Now the Soviets are bogged down in a war with no end in sight. Since the Afghan government bans Western journalists from covering the conflict, the only front-line reporting has come from journalists slipping illegally into Afghanistan with the Mujahadeen — a Persian word meaning Islamic freedom fighters.

The codeword Quetta — the name of a city in western Pakistan — whispered over the telephone by a young rebel leader was the beginning of my journey from the safety of a Peshawar hotel into Afghanistan.

A jeep picked me up at daybreak and I was driven to the headquarters of the guerrilla leader Ahmad Giliani on the outskirts of town, 35 miles from the Afghan-Pakistani border.

Before setting out, I had shopped the bazaars of Peshawar for my Afghan disguise and the essential items I needed for the trip.

For clothing I chose a biege-coloured salwar kameez — a flowing shirt and baggy trousers outfit — a floppy pancake-style cap of the same color and a warm blanket. Black dye was used to hide a blond moustache.

I also stocked up on malaria pills, mosquitorepellent and bandages.

At the guerrilla headquarters, I and two other Western journalists were transferred to a white ambulance van.

With the curtains closed, we raced toward the border, zig-zagging through perilous mountain roads and passing through 15 checkpoints specifically set up by Pakistani authorities to stop foreigners from entering tribal lands near the border.

Along the way the ambulance picked up several guerrilla fighters, their heads swathed in flowing turbans and carrying Soviet-made automatic Kalashnikov rifles wrapped in white sheets.

After a harrowing five-hour ride, the ambulance arrived in Afghanistan and the curtains were flung open.

"You can relax now," said our rebel guide. "We are in my country."

It was a land of barren, rock-strewn valleys surrounded by jagged, shrub-dotted mountains, populated mainly by camels, burros, goats, turkeys and the occasional palm tree.

Our van was met by a group of 15 Mujahadeen guerrillas, including a 10-year-old boy wearing a black turban and armed with a metal slingshot.

Twelve of us piled into a blue Toyota pickup and sped up and down the rocky hills, passing numerous graveyards of "martyred" guerrillas, each marked by a small pile of stones holding up sticks topped with multi-coloured flags.

Omar, 21, a rebel who bears a striking resemblance to a young Fidel Castro, prayed each time we passed one of these burial grounds.

He had a tattoo on his arm of a green heart pierced by a dagger dripping blood. Omar said he joined the guerrillas at age 15, and while in the 11th grade in Kabul he and a group of friends killed their high school principal. The principal had been a member of the Afghan Communist Party.

Omar's forte was subversion. He would join the Afghan army, full of praise for communism, and then coax Afghan soldiers into defecting with their weapons to the guerrillas. He said he had done that three times — having brought more than 12 soldiers to the rebels on the last occasion.

Shortly after noon that first day, we reached a dry riverbed strewn with burned-out Soviet vehicles, including armoured personnel carriers and a tank. It had been the scene of a major guerrilla victory days earlier, the Mujahadeen guides said.

About 400 guerrillas had sneaked up behind a Soviet supply convoy trailing hundreds of Afghan army troops. They claimed to have killed 150 Afghan soldiers

and 12 Soviet officers in two hours of fighting, capturing more than 100 enemy troops and their weapons.

No bodies were visible on the battlefield. The guide said the dead Afghans had been carried off by government helicopter and the bodies of the slain Soviets were doused with oil and burned.

"They don't like to leave their dead lying around," one rebel said.

The rebels warned against walking on the battlefield, saying the troops had planted land mines when they retreated.

We saw proof of their claim when we stopped for breakfast the next day at a small guerrilla camp, which boasted a tripod-mounted light anti-aircraft gun hidden in a clump of trees.

A stretcher lay in the centre of the camp, bearing a fresh corpse wrapped in a sheet and covered with brown blankets.

One guerrilla was kneeling by the body and applying musk-like perfume to its face. Four rebels then carried the stretcher to the burial ground.

"This man was killed by an anti-personnel mine while he was looking at the burned tank. It tore off his leg and he bled to death," our guide said.

The guerrilla camp included several fresh-faced boys barely in their teens with rifles and ammunition belts lashed across their chests.

We found a donkey to carry our gear for the second day's march to a guerrilla base at Dad Mir, about 10 miles (16 km) from the Pakistan border and some five miles (8 km) from the Afghan army garrison of Khowst, which has been dubbed Little Moscow because of the profusion of Soviet troops.

Soviet transport planes recently airlifted 15,000 troops, mostly Afghans, into the garrison and heavy fighting raged in the area for two weeks.

The Soviet objective, a Pakistani intelligence officer said later, was to drive the guerrillas from the mountains to the border and close off Jawar, a route that rebels say carries 40 percent of the guerrillas and their arms from Pakistan to Afghanistan.

As we started the march we saw two Soviet MiGs streak towards the Pakistan border and the distant sound of artillery. We later learned that a village just inside Pakistan had been bombed, killing two people and injuring 10.

The tough Afghans covered the narrow trails up and down the sheer 500-foot cliffs like mountain goats, walking full speed for hours without pausing for even a drink of water.

The pain in my legs and lungs forced me to stop every 15 minutes or so and quench my thirst from mountain streams or from friendly rebel camps. On one occasion, two children trudged up a mountain to offer us cool buttermilk from aluminium bowls.

After a three-hour march we reached a peak where we could see the Khowst airstrip to the left of the garrison. There was a constant drone of Soviet helicopters and transport planes landing and taking off.

Another hour's walk took us to the Dad Mir rebel camp, hidden at the bottom of a narrow ravine.

The outpost boasted a 76mm cannon of World War II vintage that had been captured from the Russians, a recoilless rifle and three Chinese-made machine guns placed at strategic points in the mountains.

We were shown a large weapons cache of AK-47s, British 303 Enfield rifles, rocket-propelled grenades and other military hardware stored in a cave.

Most of their ammunition, the rebels said, came from Egypt and China.

About a month earlier, the rebels at Dad Mir said they had attacked the Khowsht airfield with the big cannon, destroying five aircraft.

We crept up a hill for a closer look at the landing strip and counted 13 Soviet helicopter gunships parked in a neat row.

Between our position and the airfield we could see a white tent which marked an Afghan army outpost.

During the past 2½ months, the Mujahadeen have captured the post eight times and lost it eight times, the guerrillas said. "We captured 215 Afghan army soliders and killed a great many," the guide boasted.

In the mostly dry riverbed that runs through the camp, the rebels had gathered 11 Afghan army soliders — all but one of them defectors. The guerrillas were looking through their belongings and fingering their family photographs.

"If they find any evidence that a man is a member of the Communist Party, he will be shot," the guide said. "Otherwise, they will be taken to Peshawar and questioned and then released to their villages."

Interviews with several of the defectors revealed a pattern. Many had been rounded up from their homes, shops and farms and forced to join the army only months earlier.

Amal Lal, whose head was bandaged, said he was shot by his Afghan officer when he escaped to join the guerrillas.

"I am Moslem and I didn't want to kill my Moslem brothers," Lal said through and interpreter. "I looked for opportunities to run away. I think most of the government soliders want to leave."

A short time later, 11 Afghan soliders were marched away to the cadence of religious chants such as, "God is great."

On the fourth day of the trip, commander Dad Mir returned to his camp with three camels laden with ammunition.

"Our leaders have told us not to launch any offensive right now," he said. "Our ammunition is low and our orders are to defend this area if we are attacked."

The fighting had shifted, he said, to another part of the valley called Leja, where guerrilla fighters under the command of Jalaluddin were holding their own against a Soviet attack.

Zual Gul, a guerrilla district leader who commands 11 camps such as Dad Mir, said there was an urgent need for experts to train his men in the use of multiple rocket launchers and other sophisticated weapons, indicating arms supplies continued to flow to the rebels.

There is a striking mix of the old and new among the Afghan guerrillas, whose nation is in many ways outside the currents of modern life. Many of the Mujahadeen wear Japanese watches and canvas sneakers and can hum the latest hit songs from the Hindu movies in India. In contrast to their material possessions, the guerrillas will often slaughter and skin a goat, pressing the fresh hide onto a person as a cure for disease or injury.



AFGHAN guerrillas with a Soviet armoured car destroyed in an ambush. — Xinhua picture

One night Omar handed me a piece of Afghan bread called *nan* with a goat's knuckle tucked inside. Under Afghan tradition, I must keep the goat's knuckle until he one day demands it back. If I don't have it, he is entitled to all of my worldly possessions. I now keep the knuckle on a string around my wrist.

At the Dad Mir camp, the guerrillas slaughter a goat each day for food, cutting its throat and allowing it to bleed to death in the Moslem way.

Also five times a day, the guerrillas stop whatever they are doing, face Mecca and pray.

"It is Allah who keeps our spirits high," said Omar. "We pray to him so we can kill the Russians. Allah decides if we live or die."

As we left the camp on the fifth day, air bombardment thundered from a valley about two miles away and we could see two MiGs and a helicopter and plumes of white smoke rising like scattering clouds.

The bombs dropped every minute and the guerrillas had no weapons with a range great enough to hit the enemy aircraft.

On the way out of Afghanistan, I was arrested by the Pakistan police for entering the country's tribal lands without permission. While held more than a day, I was questioned by intelligence officers who also provided information on the latest fighting in Afghanistan.

"The Soviets are preparing a large offensive but the Mujahadeen are holding their own now," one officer said. "They have put 15,000 troops inside the Khowsht garrison."

Fazal Karim Afride, a Pakistani government official in charge of the border region, said a recent development was the influx of 21,000 refugees since May from Afghanistan's three northern provinces on the Soviet border. Most previous refugees had come from areas nearer Pakistan.

"The new entrants say chemical weapons were used against them," Afride said. "We haven't received a family at full

strength. They have bloody feet and have walked 45 days. They say there is constant bombardment."

He also indicated that Pakistan turns a blind eye to the Afghan rebels as they cross and re-cross the 1,700-mile (2,736 km) border.

"We know they are going in to fight," Afride said.

As he spoke, the fort-like police building at Miram Shah shook with the sound of another Soviet air raid just across the border.

HK Standard 10/3

The Pakistan Times of 9/28 reported that Commander Dad Mir was killed fighting in Khowsht.



U.S. NEWS & WORLD REPORT, Sept. 23.

Mujahideen speak with one voice

Unperturbed by the decreasing interest in their cause, especially in the Muslim world, the Mujahideen have been making tough efforts to devise a new strategy to counter the ever-increasing Soviet army in Afghanistan. In April when new Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev was ordering his military commanders to increase the number of Soviet troops in occupied Afghanistan and to intensify attacks on the people, the two alliances of the Mujahideen were holding high-level discussions to forge unity in their ranks in order to face the Russians under a single command.

The Islamic Alliance of Afghan Mujahideen, led by Abdul Rabu Rasool Sayyaf (who was recently given the Faisal Award for his services to Islam) and the National Alliance of Mujahideen, led by Sibghatullah Mujaddidi, have now decided to co-ordinate military activities inside Afghanistan. This is the first time that the various Mujahideen groups have agreed to share military information with each other. Under the new agreement the Mujahideen would not compete among themselves for control of any particular area; rather they will face the Russians under a single command.

The two alliances have also agreed to a rota of elected Afghan spokesmen for representing the Mujahideen in international forums. A list of seven leaders has been compiled. At present Sayyaf has been asked by the two alliances to act as the Mujahideen spokesman. Others who will eventually represent the cause in their turn are: Hikmat Yar of Hizb-Islami, Barhanuddin Rabbani of the Jamiat-i-Islami, Gellani of the Mahaz-i-Milli, Mujaddidi of the National Front, Maulvi Khalis of Hizb-i-Islami and Maulvi Muhammad of the Harakat Inqilab Islami. This unity among the Mujahideen has inspired worried signals from Kabul and Moscow.

FUTILE EXERCISE

Immediately after the publication of the news of the agreement the Karmal regime announced its decision to call an Afghan national assembly to

endorse government policies and to support the Soviet presence in the country. The assembly was obviously called to earn credibility for the Soviet-installed regime. But many Afghans in Kabul and other towns, see in it a futile exercise as nearly five million people are being forced to live as refugees and 60 per cent of the territory is controlled by the Mujahideen.

The assembly, the fourth since 1955, was meant to act as a rubber stamp for Karmal. Karmal, speaking at a meeting on April 20 with representatives at the Loya Jirga (People's Assembly) said that "the Soviet Union is an honest friend of Afghanistan and has no designs on the country and no eye on the land". He also said that the "Jirga would agree to adopt a resolute decision to eliminate the counter-revolution exported from Pakistan and Iran." There were nearly 1,700 representatives present in the jirga but diplomatic sources in Kabul say that almost all of them were hand-picked Karmal supporters.

SOVIET INTENTIONS

Ironically the truth about Soviet intentions in Afghanistan was expected only one day after the jirga when in a major offensive Soviet troops massacred hundreds of Afghan civilians in the north-eastern province of Laghman. The massacres were the latest in a long series which began with the arrival of Soviet troops in Afghanistan five years ago; in March this year nearly 300 civilians were machine-gunned, bayoneted or drenched with paraffin and set ablaze, among them women and children.

The massacres of Afghan people have been accompanied by increased attacks on the Afghan refugee camps inside Pakistan. It is obvious that the Soviet Union has been using Afghanistan as a pawn in its game with the other superpower. Its pressure on Pakistan and the civilians in Afghanistan has increased in order to extract major concessions in Central America and Africa.

Some observers say that it is perhaps in the interests of both the superpowers to main-

tain the status quo so as to strike the most beneficial bargain possible. They feel that the people's will, or right of self-determination, does not matter under the circumstances, in which a solution of the Afghan crisis seems almost impossible. The continuous stalemate has led all the Afghan Mujahideen groups to believe that negotiations would not bring the Soviet occupation to an end, and they have emphasised over and over again that the armed jihad is the

only way to liberate their country. They have rejected the June proximity talks between Afghanistan and Pakistan. The Mujahideen are aware that the West is not their natural ally in this jihad and that they can only bank upon the Muslim world. But as the Muslim world is itself divided among the superpowers, the real help is least likely to come from them. This leaves the Mujahideen alone, locked in deadly struggle against a formidable enemy.—NPTS, PT 9/19

From AL FALAH, 8/85

It is reported from Logar province that some elderly people were taken to Kabul by force at the end of April to participate in the puppet Karmal regime's bogus Loya Jirga. One sent a message to his wife, saying "Do not worry, the government has not imprisoned me but has made me a member of Parliament". His wife's comment was "Both are the same".

Afghans are own big enemy

by
James Rupert
in Peshawar

MORE than three months since joining in a formal alliance, the seven main Afghan resistance groups have made little progress towards real political and military unity, according to resistance spokesmen and Western analysts.

Under strong pressure from their major backers — Pakistan, Saudi Arabia and the United States — the Afghan guerrilla groups created an organisation called the Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen last May to try to end the often violent quarrels that impede their cooperation against Soviet and Afghan government forces.

"The leaders of these groups are all proud men," said a Western analyst here, "and it's a significant step just to have them sit together in the same room."

"The Mujahideen's supporters have pushed them hard to unity, to speak with a single voice," said a Western diplomatic specialist on Afghanistan. "Their squabbling has hurt them militarily in the field and politically in places like the UN."

But even Mujahideen spokesmen such as Isak Gailani of the National Islamic Front of Afghanistan, one of the alliance's constituent groups, concede that real unity remains a distant goal. "The lack of coordination among the parties is still making some problems and is something we must continue to work on," Gailani said in an interview.

Masood Khalili, spokesman for the Jamiat-i-Islami Party, said, "We didn't think (the alliance) could do very well, because it contains a lot of rivalries and clashing interests." But, he conceded, "some coordination is better than nothing."

The seven main Mujahideen groups are both political parties and military organisations. Their differences are sharpest at their top levels, according to Western specialists. In addition to personal mistrust among party leaders, they say, the groups are split along ideological and ethnic lines.

The current Islamic Unity of Afghan Mujahideen is a fragile vehicle for seeking consensus among the parties. The alliance is headed by a supreme council made up of the seven groups' leaders, and the council can act only with the unanimous support of its members.

The council did manage last month to take its first unified political stance — a commu-

continued on next page

The following editorial appeared in AL FALAH, the journal of the Afghan Mujahideen in Australia, Vol. I, #3, August 1985:

The year is now 1985. It heralds the passage of seven years of arduous fighting. Many Mujahideen have fallen into the crimsoned dust, companions to rusting tanks, to spent shells, and to the homes they sought to defend. We witness death in the valleys and plains, pitiful and ignoble births in the refugee camps, and young boys swiftly promoted to manhood, to look death in the face before ever coming to know life in its fullness.

"Bravo", we cry. Yet we are but tiny spectators, seated in the back stalls of the European, American and Australian continents. The whole world has become our colosseum. Like spectators, we carry on with our merry-making between acts. We mimic the struggles, pain and wounds of the gladiator Mujahideen in futile gestures of empathy and pretended participation. A ludicrously serious discussion then develops amongst us, the spectators *pathétique*. We enter into pseudo-academic debate about the merits and demerits of this group over that, and we gauge which group approximates most closely to our likes, our ways, and our interests - before we even consider giving to them what we self-delusively think of as our generous acclamation and support - as if such debate could turn the tables in the arena called Afghanistan. But in the meantime, the children of Afghanistan cry out: "We are dying..."

Dear readers, we must stop playing games. The stakes we are gambling with are our own worth as human beings. The image sketched above highlights certain persistent and pressing problems. Let us see exactly what they are.

The first problem is very simple. At this very moment, savage aggression is being committed. Should we withhold assistance to the

victim in order to query in what direction he is going to run once he can walk? That is what we are now doing. Instead, we should provide emergency support now, so that the victim will at least be able to regain his feet. Is this not a more sensible thing to do? An example of this concerns the centrality of the Islamic faith to the struggle against the Soviets. Islam has been depicted as such a bogey that any popular movement championing an Islamic way of life frightens people, who shrink from providing much needed assistance. This is greatly to be regretted. First, Islam is not the repressive doctrine which people make out, as a reading of the Qur'an will swiftly make clear. Second, our service to humanity should not be dictated by narrow ideological or ethnocentric prejudices. If we object to domination by the USSR of Afghanistan because the Soviet system is totally alien and repulsive to the Afghans, we can scarcely deny to the Afghans the right to live their lives along Islamic lines as they always have done.

The second problem relates to the nature of our support. We need to move towards assistance of real practical worth. Financial support is welcome, but it is not enough. Those of us safe from the firing line can obtain education and skills, and we must visit the refugee camps, and Afghanistan itself, to explore ways in which this knowledge can be applied. For example, there are paramedics to train, and children to be taught the skills of reading and writing. There are some of us who should seriously explore the possibility of computer usage. Photography is easy, and graphic documentation is vital in order to keep the Afghanistan issue visually alive. A knowledge of

"Own Big Enemies" continued from p. 14.

nique that insisted on a Mujaheddin role in any negotiations towards an Afghan solution.

"The Mujaheddin were simply laying a marker of their position, that their views must be considered" in the UN-mediated Geneva talks between Pakistan and Afghanistan, a Western analyst here said.

Masood Khalili said the Mujaheddin hope to use the alliance as a magnet for increased foreign aid and as the vehicle for a political campaign to have the Soviet-backed Afghan government removed from its seat at the United Nations.

But Western specialists and some independent Afghan intellectuals pointed out that the distribution of aid funds has always been one of the major points of dispute among the parties, and said there is little evidence of a new political will to overcome such divisions.

Cooperation among the various parties seems to work better in the field against the Soviet and Afghan government troops.

"In some provinces, the local commanders from the different parties have quite good coordination, even in planning (joint) attacks against the Russians," said James Gutz, an Afghan guerrilla at the Kacha Kart refugee camp here. "And in defensive fighting, when the Russians attack, the differences between the factions disappear."

Western observers and Afghan guerrillas said many of the Mujaheddin commanders within Afghanistan have shown increasing intransigence with the squabbling of their group's political leaders in Peshawar, and suggested that this may have contributed to the formal unification last May. One diplomatic analyst suggested that the increasingly important cleavage within the Afghan movements may become that between those inside Afghan and those based here.

Still, the tribal and personal rivalries among the Mujaheddin parties and individual commanders continue to cause fighting within the resistance in Afghanistan. Various Mujaheddin groups conceded that seven Jamiat-I-Islami officers were gunned down by guerrillas of the Hezb-I-Islami faction led by Gul Badeen Hekmatyar earlier this summer, at what was to have been a session to discuss joint strategy in and around the strategic Panjshir Valley.

Masood Khalili, the spokesman for Jamiat-I-Islami, accused the Afghan government secret police, the Khad, of having organised the killings. "It shows how (the Soviet and Afghan government) forces have been taking advantage of our disunity," he said. — LAT-IP

HK Standard 9/8

James Reston writing in the NYT as Yakov Pecton from the Soviet Embassy to Mr. Gorbachev about the upcoming summit: "If asked about Afghanistan or human rights, you can do one or two things: Say you're for them though they're not on the agenda & ask about lynchings in the south."

mechanics is necessary for the Mujahideen: why should captured equipment have to remain idle? The list is endless, for once the human mind and soul identify with a mission or a cause, there is unleashed a "marvellous ingenuity and capacity for self-sacrifice. We certainly see this phenomenon at work amongst the Mujahideen, who are helping the Soviets at bay and thereby doing the rest of the world a great favour." The Russian Empire", as Mike Martin notes, "moved in 1979

not on a road which ends in Afghanistan but on one designed to weaken and destroy the West. If we care about our own survival, we would be well served to care about the survival of Afghanistan." Now, in order to help ourselves, let us discover the sanctity of the Mujahideen's cause, so that we idle spectators may discover our inner genius, and thereby join ranks with the Mujahideen shoulder to shoulder.

DATELINE PAKISTAN: A PASSAGE TO ANARCHY?

by Mohammed Ayoob FOREIGN POLICY

MOHAMMED AYOOB is an associate professor of political science at the National University of Singapore.

...Powerfully contributing to Pakistan's troubles has been Washington's shortsighted policy of enlisting Islamabad's help in aiding the Afghan insurgency. Boggling Moscow down in a long, ugly mountain war may be strategically and morally sound, but unless steps are taken both to limit Islamabad's involvement in regional conflicts, perhaps through a process of "Austrianization," and to introduce a degree of popular participation and regional autonomy into its political system, Washington risks an even greater setback to its interests in the Persian Gulf than the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan: Pakistan's utter collapse. . . .

The NWFP's failure to respond to the *MRD's call can only be explained by its peculiar situation since the April 1978 Marxist coup in neighboring Afghanistan and the Soviet military intervention there in December 1979. The province's political life has been brought to a virtual standstill by the contradictory concerns of its population. Three million Afghan refugees have streamed into the NWFP, and they are heavily armed. The Pushtun people of the NWFP sympathize with their displaced Afghan cousins. But the Pakistani Pushtuns resent the new competition they face for grazing lands and jobs. Many inhabitants of the NWFP are also troubled by the emergence of political tensions between the Islamic parties, which support an active Pakistani involvement in the Afghan jihad, and leading local autonomists such as Abdul Wali Khan, who support negotiations with Kabul and a political solution to the problem. . .

* Movement for the Restoration of Democracy (MRD), an opposition coalition composed of all major political parties except the conservative Islamic Jamaat-i-Islami.

Afghanistan seems much larger in Punjab, which borders on the NWFP, than in Sind. As a result, few Punjabis seem inclined to create more problems for the regime when its hands already seem full. Many in Punjab criticize Islamabad's handling of the refugee problem and, like the Baluch, want to keep the Afghans out. . .

Pakistan's external environment has been deteriorating since the military took power in 1977. The Soviet intervention in Afghanistan in December 1979 gave the Zia government a new lease on life by neutralizing a burgeoning domestic opposition. It also spurred Washington to resume and increase economic and military aid to Islamabad despite Pakistan's refusal to submit all of its nuclear program to international inspection.

Yet the dispatch of some 100,000 Soviet soldiers to neighboring Afghanistan, the Iranian revolution and subsequent hostage crisis, and the creation of the U.S. Rapid Deployment Force have all drawn Pakistan into the vortex of the new cold war centering on the Persian Gulf. By participating in anti-Soviet strategy in the region Pakistan seems to be taking risks with its national security that only a much stronger state can afford.

In a way, Pakistan's current posture is a logical continuation of the strategy followed toward Afghanistan since July 1973, when a coup toppled the Afghan monarchy. In order to put pressure on new president Sardar Mohammad Daud Khron to accept certain Pakistani territorial claims and to stop his largely verbal advocacy of Pushtun separatism, Bhutto helped anti-Daud Afghan-exile leaders to train commandos in Pakistan and send them across the border. This Pakistani strategy was supplemented by economic inducements provided by the shah to lure Daud away from the Soviet Union and toward the West. By 1976 a combination of pressure and pledges of \$2 billion worth of Iranian aid—which far exceeded Afghanistan's total aid receipts during the previous 30 years—had worked.

These external connections, however, emboldened Daud to crack down on his domestic leftist opponents, who were increasingly unhappy with his growing authoritarianism and failure to implement land reform. His arrest of leaders of the Marxist People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan (PDPA), including Noor Mohammad Taraki, Babrak Karmal, and Hafizullah Amin, prompted PDPA elements in the army to overthrow the Daud regime in a coup apparently engineered without Soviet help,

despite Moscow's extensive links with the party.¹ And the triumphant PDPA leadership, mindful of Pakistani and Iranian hostility, quickly turned to Moscow for support.

As familiar as the events leading up to the Soviet intervention are, many forget that soon after the April 1978 coup Pakistan, initially at the behest of other Islamic countries, began training anti-Kabul commandos on its territory and funneling arms to insurgents inside Afghanistan. This Pakistani involvement intensified after the mystery-shrouded assassination of Adolph Dubs, America's envoy to Afghanistan, in Kabul in February 1979. Lending weight to charges of Pakistani subversion is the fact that most insurgent activities during that period were confined to Afghan provinces bordering Pakistan.

Rightly or wrongly, many Pakistani analysts believe that Islamabad's involvement in the Afghan insurgency helped create the situation that led Moscow to step in. They attribute Pakistan's policy primarily to pressures and inducements from Saudi Arabia and the United States, both of which capitalized on Zia's need for foreign support to prop up his faltering image inside Pakistan.

Pakistanis increasingly seem to feel that had their government not aided the insurgents, the Afghan insurgency would have remained a manageable thorn in Kabul's flesh, the number of refugees would have been greatly reduced, and Moscow would have felt no need to bring Soviet troops right up to the subcontinent's borders.

The Soviet Union has so far refrained from escalating its support to Pakistani dissidents and separatists, particularly in Baluchistan. One reason may be its preoccupation with fighting the *mujabidin* (freedom fighters) in Afghanistan and with arming Iraq for the Persian Gulf war. Moscow may also feel that overt Soviet encouragement of Baluch secessionism may give Washington and Islamabad the excuse the former in particular has long sought to set up American bases on the coast of Baluchistan. And the Soviets no doubt realize that stirring up the Baluch might anger India. Its aid to East Pakistan in 1971 notwithstanding, India opposes more radical tampering with local borders for fear of heartening its own separatists and of calling into question its own disputed border with China.

Yet on December 8, 1984, the *Economist* reported that in fiscal year 1986 the CIA will supply through Pakistan \$280 million in aid to the Afghan insurgents. According to the same report, the guerrillas have so far received about \$100 million a year from Persian Gulf countries. Moreover, in October 1984 the U.S. Congress passed a resolution calling on the Reagan administration to "effectively support" the Afghan insurgents. The *mujabidin* have already received CIA-supplied mortars, bazookas, and grenade launchers, and some reports claim that ground-to-air missiles are also finding their way into rebel hands. . .

Some Pakistanis, such as Sajjad Hyder, Islamabad's former envoy to Moscow, see "permanent neutrality," or Austrianization, guaranteed by both superpowers, China, India, and Iran, as Pakistan's best hope for survival.² Under this scheme Pakistan would refrain from intervening in neighboring conflict-ridden areas such as Afghanistan and the Persian Gulf and would distance itself equally from the superpowers. In return, Pakistan would receive firm assurances of its territorial integrity and political independence.

It is precisely these kinds of security considerations that have led Islamabad into U.N.-brokered negotiations with Kabul since 1982. At one time these negotiations seemed promising.³ But basic differences over the Soviet troop withdrawal schedule, preconditions for such withdrawal, and, some Pakistanis suspect, U.S. and Saudi pressure on Islamabad to reject normalization of relations with Babrak Karmal's regime have stalemated the talks. Indeed, it was widely assumed in Pakistan that Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan enthusiastically anticipated reaching an agreement in 1983 that the military junta, aware of its military dependence on America and its economic dependence on Saudi Arabia, had all but ruled out. . .

Austrianization would, of course, mean abandoning the Afghan insurgents to their fate. But would it not be better for them to realize that their situation is hopeless unless they reach an accommodation with the Kabul regime and the Soviet Union? The more perceptive insurgents must realize that the United States will never give them enough

¹Nancy Peabody Newell and Richard S. Newell, *The Struggle for Afghanistan* (Ithaca, N.Y.: Cornell University Press, 1981), 112-113.

²Sajjad Hyder, "Pakistan's Afghan Predicament: Towards Neutrality-III," *The Muslim* (Islamabad), 8 February 1984.

³See Selig S. Harrison, "A Breakthrough in Afghanistan?" *FOREIGN POLICY* 51 (Summer 1983).

To the Editor:

On Sept. 12, The Times published a brief news article about the end of a hunger strike by 15 of the Afghans held by the Immigration and Naturalization Service in a New York City detention facility. Unfortunately, their cause has received only passing attention as these refugees take desperate steps to make their plight known.

In this case we see another example of a cold-hearted policy in which our Government indefinitely detains bona fide refugees fleeing Soviet persecution in Afghanistan. Although the Administration has the discretion to release these people while awaiting rulings on their asylum claims, the I.N.S. steadfastly refuses to re-evaluate this detention policy.

Why are these Afghans detained? Because they lacked appropriate documentation upon entering the United States and were deemed detainable by the I.N.S.

In other words, they neglected to ask the permission of the Soviet-backed Government in Kabul to leave Afghanistan, and therefore arrived here without proper Afghan passports. If not for this infraction, they would not be languishing in an American detention facility, some for as long as 14 months.

Exactly what the U.S. proves by detaining these people, adding injury to the great pain they have already suffered, is difficult to determine.

Once again it seems important to

remind ourselves that our country was founded as a haven for people seeking greater freedom, a refuge from discrimination and oppression. Today, some in this country seem to have forgotten that important lesson. What is particularly curious in this case is that the U.S. Government purports to support the cause of the Afghan freedom fighters. Yet we jail those among them who seek protection within our borders.

Last June, 36 members of Congress, both Democrats and Republicans, joined together in appealing to Attorney General Edwin Meese to release these Afghans while their asylum claims are adjudicated. This request was rejected.

It is now time to bring this matter to the attention of President Reagan, who can demonstrate to these Afghans, and to other freedom-seeking people, that America stands behind their cause.

We are not asking that the Government break the law. In fact, the overwhelming majority of more than 10,000 individuals within U.S. borders currently seeking asylum are not detained for a single day while their claims are considered by our Government. We merely ask that the Afghans be given the same treatment as these other asylum seekers. Justice would then be better served.

GARY L. ACKERMAN
Member of Congress, 7th Dist., N.Y.
Washington, Sept. 19, 1985

TALKS ON AFGHAN ISSUE WILL FOCUS ON TROOP WITHDRAWAL

ISLAMABAD—Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub-Khan said here on September 4 that the next round of indirect talks on Afghanistan in mid-December would be a difficult one because it would focus on the vital question of troop withdrawal.

Talking to newsmen on return from Geneva where he had led Pakistan's delegation to the fifth round in late August, the Minister said that Pakistan did not at this stage visualize an early breakthrough in the Geneva process.

About the fifth round, Mr. Yaqub-Khan said that the formal sessions were delayed because of the insistence by the Kabul delegation on direct talks which Pakistan rejected. "We pointed out, among other things, that if the proximity talks format could be utilized for finalizing three instruments, there was no reason why the remaining instrument could not be similarly finalized," he said adding: "The formal sessions were, therefore, held on a proximity talks basis and focussed on stocktaking and clarifying outstanding issues."

He, however, said the next round of talks would be difficult and "we do not at this stage visualize an early breakthrough."

Asked if in their summit in Geneva in November, President Reagan and Mr. Gorbachev would discuss the Afghanistan question,

the Foreign Minister said the question was bound to be included in the topics of discussion because it was an important international issue.

UN mediator Diego Cordovez disclosed in Geneva on August 30 that the sixth round would take place in Geneva from December 16 to 20.

He said that a document on international guarantees for the restoration of non-aligned status of Afghanistan had been agreed upon during the current round of indirect talks. "The US and the Soviet Union are the proposed guarantors for the agreement and their preliminary reaction had been the main topic of discussions at the current round," he explained.

Mr. Cordovez also disclosed that the documents on the issue of non-interference and on the complex question of the return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland in honor and dignity were virtually complete. The thorniest point was the drafting of a document on the interrelation of these three documents, he added.

support to enable them to defeat the Soviets. U.S. aid is aimed primarily at bleeding the Soviets—but at a level that Moscow will continue to find tolerable. For if the USSR's vital concerns became endangered, the resistance's sanctuaries in Pakistan would not remain immune from Soviet attack, and the destabilization of Pakistan itself would reach the top of the Soviet agenda. Nor would the Soviets flinch from a major showdown that could leave Pakistan's political structure in shambles—unless, of course, America decides to risk superpower confrontation and ride to Pakistan's rescue. Many Pakistanis suspect that America's commitment to their country would fall far short of this mark.

Moreover, Pakistan's role in Afghanistan has become a divisive domestic issue. Several political leaders of widely differing stripes seem to be gravitating toward support for a political settlement with Karmal and his Soviet supporters and a disengagement from the Afghan insurgency. The PPP has already publicly endorsed this policy. This emerging consensus is strengthened by the feeling that if Pakistan could live for 30 years with an Afghanistan that was, for all practical purposes, within the Soviet sphere of influence from 1947 to 1977, it can live with a Soviet-supported regime in Kabul for the next 30 years. Only the Jamaat-i-Islami is holding out, but its rival Karachi and Punjab wings do not seem to be in complete accord on this issue. Thus a major Soviet-Pakistani crisis or the outbreak of an externally supported insurgency in Baluchistan could see Pakistan's opposition overwhelmingly dissociating itself from the government's Afghanistan policy and its consequent strategic linkage with the United States, opening another major fissure in Pakistan's already fragmented political structure...

TROOP WITHDRAWAL FROM AFGHANISTAN IS ENDORSED AT NAM TALKS

ISLAMABAD—Zain Noorani, Minister of State for Foreign Affairs, has said on return from Angola that the Non-Aligned Foreign Ministers' Conference there from September 5-8 had endorsed the call for a political solution of the Afghanistan problem on the basis of the withdrawal of foreign forces and return of the Afghan refugees to their homeland in safety and honor.

The resolution was identical to the one adopted at the Non-Aligned summit in New Delhi March 1983.

Pakistan Affairs

9/16

Edward Gorman, a British journalist working for the WSJ in Hong Kong, spent some time with underground resistance groups in Kabul city. He went into Afghanistan with a Harakat group on 7/10 & came out on 9/10. It took him 4 days to reach the mujahideen camp in Mussayee near Kabul... He was much delayed because at that time the Russians were blocking the roads to the south & east. He was forced to wait [at Mussayee] for 3 weeks... When the Russians moved to Paktia, Gorman moved to Kabul... He spent two weeks in Kabul, moving between 4 safe houses, hiding during the day because of KHAD agents searching houses, & moving around in the night. He said: "After 5 days, the resistance commander arranged for a trip inside the city in a Russian jeep. I wore Russian type western clothes. The driver was an Afghan who normally drives for Russian officers. We went around the city, in Kota-e-Sangi, Dehmazang, Chehelsetun & Shar-e-Nau." After a two week tour in Kabul, he went back to Mussayee & again waited about 2 weeks for the Russian offensive in Paktia to finish. Then he came out without incident via Teri Mangal.

In Kabul he was impressed by the network of safe houses & by the ability of the mujahideen to move in & out of the city, even though there are supposedly 2,000 security posts with helicopters working at night with search lights... "In Kabul," he said, "almost every night there were battles, mostly small arms fire, with heavy machine-gun fire from the Russians... While the safe houses & the networks of infiltration are quite good, the weapons are still very poor, nothing more than RPGs & occasional heavy machine guns. The mujahideen have no mines, few hand grenades & nothing particularly suitable for urban guerrilla war." The Russians, although many in number, seemed to be confined to their garrisons... He saw a few of them & had the impression that they were fearful of coming out. Another impression he got "was that the security forces seemed to be reluctant to acknowledge seeing us. We walked through the search lights; we walked under helicopters which were dropping flares right on top of us; we could

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According to Roy, the situation militarily speaking is in favor of the resistance. The general trend among the resistance is that there is a widening gap between "the soft resistance" & "the hard resistance." "The softs have further softened & the hard have further hardened." His general conclusion was: [redacted]

If the Soviets don't crush the resistance, it's not because they don't want to, but because they are unable to do so."

■ Mujahadeen towns
- - - Afghan Army/Soviet towns

Salween Pass

Charkhai

Anasur

Raichai

Sarani

Ghat

Solid Shair

Dache + Reamat

Parian

To Chitral

Paghistan Valley

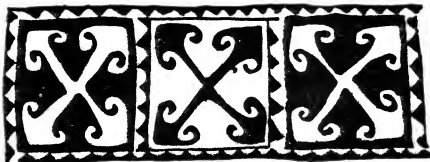
From the Editor:

The editor makes a monthly trip to the DRA UN Mission to pick up the latest news from Bakhtar. Unfortunately our mid-October trip was foiled by the UN 40th anniversary celebrations, so the news from Kabul stops on 9/15. We have combined the two chronologies - a practice we shall continue - for easier comparison of claims & threats, pronouncements & propaganda. Events from Bakhtar are identified BIA.

The January issue will include, along with all the news that fits, your subscription renewal form. We remind you now, however, that FORUM subscriptions make wonderful holiday gifts and, if you like, we can announce your largesse on an appropriate card to the donee.

Thanks to everyone who sent clippings & articles. Keep it up. We would like to remind paper-presenters or article-writers that we would appreciate receiving abstracts so that those who were unable to hear or read you can have a chance to find out what brilliant ideas they missed.

The deadline for the next issue is December 15.



AFGHAN NEWS, the organ of the Jamiat-i-Islami gives this report of the Islamic Unity of Mujahideen in its 10/13 issue:

On 10/2 Gulbuddin Hekmatyar, Amir of Hezi (sic) Islami was appointed as the 2nd official spokesman of the coalition of the 7 Islamic parties by the Supreme Council of the coalition. The decision was announced in a press conference which was held in the presence of the leaders of all the 7 constituent parties. In the communique of the coalition which was read by the newly appointed spokesman, it is said that Mujahideen would officially ask for membership in the Organization of Islamic Conference (OIC). The seat of Afghanistan has been vacant since the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan in 1979. ...

When the Soviets invaded Afghanistan & installed a puppet regime in Kabul, the seat of Afghanistan in the UN was also occupied by their puppets. The resistance now controls more than 80% of the land & the absolute majority of the population.

It is reasonable and just that the Resistance, which is the representative of the people & has control of the land should represent the Afghan nation, not a puppet regime which is kept in Kabul & some other cities by about 200,000 foreign troops. The time has come to demand our right & get back the seat of Afghanistan in the United Nations. Since 1 year some Afghans, in connection with the Afghan resistance, have started their work in this direction. The coalition has also issued a communique in which the Supreme Council of the coalition has asked for such an action in the UN. A delegation of the Resistance will be sent to the current session, [The delegation arrived in New York on 10/20.] It is quite possible that this issue will be raised in the UNGA very soon. The Resistance hopes that Muslim countries, Third World countries & the free world would support such a just demand.

continued on p. 2

Charles Brockunier & his tape recorder were in Pakistan in July. The following is extracted from an interview with Ghulam Roghani Wardak, Amin Wardak's brother:

"In Wardak from the beginning was the 'power of nation' which is a jirgah of the Wardak people & by that jirgah we control the population in civil & mujahideen groups & there is never any problem between groups because the jirgah controlled all of them. They meet when ever something interesting comes up.

"The situation in Wardak now is quite good. For 4 or 5 years we have free Wardak for about 85% of our area. During the 4 years the Soviets just have about 150 km of the Kabul-Kandahar highway. Soviet convoys use this road & use a lot of tanks & helicopters to keep their convoys closed from the mujahideen.

"Many parties have small, small groups in Wardak. Every political party has a governor for the province of Wardak. Most people help us.

"We don't only fight. During 4 or 5 years we have freed our woleswali & we are trying to do modern war - military, civil & political & we have good programs & plans for the civilians. We build hospitals [and have] agricultural & health programs & publications. We have our own postage stamps. For the first time in the history of Islam - in 1,400 years - we have a stamp issued under the name of mujahideen. The stamp is used for letters inside & outside Afghanistan. It shows we don't belong to the Communist gov't. We try to contact the world - that's the job of our political parties but they don't do as good a job as possible. We try to contact the Western people & explain about the Soviet wrong-doing & what the mujahideen want & plan to do.

"From the day the Communists took power, now already 7 years passing... all the doors of schools get closed in the faces of young children. In Wardak during 3 years we planned a school project & now we have 10 schools & there are 3 grades. The 1st year we had only 1st grade; 2nd year the 1st & 2nd grades. This year we have 1st, 2nd & 3rd grades. The students study reading, writing, math, art & Quran. In the 4th grade they will have geography & history & in the 6th, biology, physics & another

language. We need notebooks, pens, chalk, blackboards & books. For next year we need more class room & we need salaries for the teachers. We have enough teachers.

"For the past 5 years we have a hospital in Wardak in which the French Medecin de Monde doctors are working. We don't have enough material for the hospital. We had 3 doctors for 1 hospital & for the past month we have a 2nd hospital with 3 doctors working there. We have trained 12 young mujahideen to work with the French doctors & they make good nurses so each hospital has 6 nurses. We have to build more clinics & we have to train more of our mujahideen to be doctors. We need equipment.

"Two years ago we began a vaccination program. The 1st year we vaccinated 10,000 people against tetanus & TB; the 2nd year, 21,000. For 1985 our program, which will begin in October, is for 60,000 people & 50,000 animals. We take the vaccine by camels & we have generators & batteries for lights & for a freezer to keep the vaccine cool. In the summertime we can't do vaccinations because it is too hot & we can't keep the serum cool.

"The population in Wardak is about 80,000 families with perhaps 10 people per family. About 100 families have left.

In the beginning we had some Communists - not so many any more - they have died everywhere. The Soviets in 1979, 80 & 81 did strong attacks on Wardak Province - 4,000 tanks at the time of Hafizullah Amin & we lost a lot of mujahideen. After that they are bombing so much our valleys & our population & they bomb our hospitals & schools. But we are building back. We build back quickly.

"Since 1984 we have a food problem which we hadn't water. It has not been raining & snowing. 1984 was not too bad but this year we lost all the fields & people have problems even with water to drink. If we don't get any help for food it will be quite difficult for the people to live in Wardak.

"We have a good news publication which we send to all the villages like Ruznama. We publish 1 or 2 each month. We tell people how they must resist & how they must do jihad. We explain about KGB working inside Afghanistan & about what the Soviets want to do & how the people must do.

"The KGB want to create problems between groups & to separate the people. They pay money for this, but there is very little activity in Wardak. They pay the NFF. If there are any NFF members in Wardak, they work secretly - not in the open."

Ghulam Wardak had this to say about the Hazarajat:

"In the beginning when Communism took the power the Hazarajat nation joined the jihad & freed their area from the Soviets. The Hazara mujahideen controlled all their area & their people. In the last 4 years a few groups came there & began fighting against the mujahideen of the Shura. These groups got support from Iran but they did nothing about the Afghanistan war."

"Dr. Habib was a Hazara Afghan who studied in France & married a French woman. When the war started he & his wife returned to help the Afghans & set up a medical center in Hazarajat. He also tried to build some schools & start some agricultural projects. During the fighting between Shura & Nasr, a Shura commander was injured & Dr. Habib kept him as a patient. The commander recovered & left. When Nasr came they questioned Habib about helping Shura & then they killed him. His wife was in France at the time but she is now in Pakistan."

It is Mr. Wardak's opinion that the Khomeini-supported groups have taken control of the Hazarajat killing many Hazara who resisted them. He says that they harass Afghans from the north who are trying to reach Pakistan taking their money & weapons etc., as they come through the Hazarajat. The Khomeini-supported groups do not fight the Soviets & the Hazarajat has not been bombarded by the Russians. He says that Gulbuddin's Hizb-i-Islami has relations with these groups & that they do cooperate with each other.

Charles Brockunier also interviewed Walter Truant, a traveler from Milan who had been in Nuristan for a week in June:

Truant said he & his companions paid the Pakistani police in Kalash \$100 to let them cross the border. In the area he visited conditions were "terrible - no weapons, no food, nothing. The people are passive & empty. Big stories but no training. They are fighting for Allah with what weapons they have. The leader is Diullah, a Nuristani man. I don't know from which group but nothing much is going on. The front is a day's march at Barikot. There are 2,000 Afghan army keeping the place. All around are mujahideen; the army is only at the fort. When I left a Russian division was coming with tanks & good weapons. They advanced 18 km in 2 days. By now [end of June] they must be at Barikot. They must stop at Kamdesh because after that there is no road. Kamdesh is held by mujahideen. There is a problem because there is a brother war there, too. There are 2 fronts - one with the Russians & one with another group of mujahideen. There is not much fighting; a position war."

"I saw only meat, beans & eggs. The men don't do anything all day. In Bergamatal there are about 1,000 people. They were not friendly to us. The people in the valley have some weapons, including a SAM-7, but they don't know how to use them.... The biggest problem is they don't want to understand anything. They think they are so good they don't need anything else. We tried to show them how to shoot. They don't know how to change the sights. They didn't trust us. It was stupid because there was an offensive & helicopters & jets could arrive & they have only 1 weapon & they don't use it."

"There are about 4 - 5,000 guerrillas in the valley. All have weapons but very bad weapons. They were indifferent to us."

* * *

No Mincing Senatorial Words in Moscow

Senate Minority Leader Robert Byrd in Moscow (according to NEWSWEEK, 9/23):

Byrd also exchanged words with Gorbachev on Afghanistan, telling him that what Americans know about the Soviet role in that country "sours them, and that sourness can rub off and reflect itself when the Senate votes on a treaty." Gorbachev's response: "If you would tie up the moneybags, that thing would be over pretty fast." In reply, Byrd said he wasn't admitting that the United States had sent any money to the Afghan rebels, "but that one way to get those moneybags tied up would be for Soviet troops to leave."

Afghan Refugee and Family Find Haven in Wethersfield

By LOUISE AXELSON
Courant Staff Writer

WETHERSFIELD — Four-year-old Meriam Wassil Wardak belted out a song berating Afghan President Babrak Karmal and promising that Afghans will sacrifice their blood to their nation.

A few moments before her father had placed a bare foot on a table in the dining room of Cy and Lynn Levine to show where his leg had been burned black by electric shocks, a part of the torture he says he suffered under the Soviet-backed Afghan communist regime that took power in a coup a year before the Soviet invasion of Afghanistan.

Abdul Ghafur Wassil Wardak, 49, the one-time president of administration in Kabul's Ministry of Interior, has been at the Wethersfield home of his longtime friends, the Levines, for two weeks.

He, his wife and four children fled in 1983 from Afghanistan to Pakistan, where Meriam learned the freedom-fighting song she sang.

Until Wardak finds work and his own place to live, the Afghan refugees are staying with the Levines, as Wassil Wardak did 20 years ago when he came to this country to get a master's degree in public administration from the University of Connecticut in Storrs.

He arrived here again with his family on July 19, after having spent almost two months at The Hague, Netherlands, where he was invited to speak at an April seminar on human rights.

He acquired his knowledge on the subject, starting with the April 1978 coup.

Wassil Wardak was out of town on that day, when other high government officials were arrested and killed during the Soviet-engineered coup that put the Afghan communists in power, he said.

"I would definitely get killed," he said, "but on that day, I was at a funeral."

He and other surviving officials of the toppled government were ordered back to their offices a few days later. He was stripped of almost all his former duties, but continued on in the government, perhaps, he said, because the new regime hoped for his cooperation.

Wassil Wardak was with the new

regime for more than two months before he was summoned from his office for a meeting with a police general.

The meeting did not take place during a long day of being shuffled from room to room in a large building where many prisoners were kept, he said. The day ended with two beatings. The first beating came with no explanation, the second came from the general of the police forces.

"He was so angry," Wassil Wardak said. "We let you to be with us, we let you to work with us," said the general, who accused the prisoner of being involved in attempts to overthrow the new regime.

On the next two days, he was beaten unconscious.

After eight days, Wassil Wardak was taken to another jail in Kabul, where he remained until the Soviet invasion, he said.

The jail was close to the Kabul airport and in December 1979 he watched for several days as heavy military equipment coming from the Soviet Union was unloaded, he said.

"You could see something very important would happen."

On December 27, he said the prisoners were called during the day to hear an announcement over the loudspeaker by Hafezullah Amin. Amin, the country's second president since the April 1978 coup, was described by Wassil Wardak as suspect to Moscow because of his love of his native country, and suspect to Afghans because he was communist.

A month after the invasion, Wassil Wardak was released from jail, as part of the amnesty the new government announced for political prisoners. But he remained under house arrest for three years.

In 1983, a friend helped Wassil Wardak and his family flee to Pakistan. The friend sent him an invitation to a wedding for his son 500 miles from Kabul. En route, family members left the bus they were traveling on to board a small truck that was to take them to Pakistan.

Once there, he got in touch with Cy Levine. Levine sent him money and worked with the International Rescue Committee Inc. and U.S. Senator Lowell P. Weicker Jr., R-Conn., and his staff to bring the family to the United States.

Wassil Wardak has doubts about ever being able to return to Afghanistan.

"It's not really logical to say they [the Afghan rebels] can defeat the Russians," he said. But, he added, "the Russians also will never be able to get control of us."



Richard Mai / The Hartford Courant
Former Afghan official Abdul Ghafur Wassil Wardak, top left, his wife Fatima, right, and their four children, Zarghona, 8, kneeling left, Malalai, 8, kneeling right, Meriam, 4, on his knee and Abdulah, 7 months, on his mother's lap, sit in the Wethersfield home of Cy and Lynn Levine. The family plans to stay in the United States.

Afghan refugees seek jobs

According to figures given by the authorities, the number of Afghan refugees in the Islamic Republic of Iran is at present 1.9 million. Twice, in December 1984 and March 1985, the journalist Michael Wrase and the photographer Gernot Huber visited the Iranian provinces of Baluchistan and Khorasan, close to the Afghan border, where more than half the Afghan refugees are living.

In front of a bakery in Zahedan, capital of the Iranian province of Baluchistan, we saw an old Afghan pick up a scrap of dry bread. After touching it to his lips and murmuring a brief prayer, he wrapped it up in a handkerchief. His feet had strips of cloth round them, and he wore plastic sandals. Most of the Afghan children that one sees everywhere in the centre of the town are clad in multi-coloured rags. Some of them beg, others just remain seated, watching the passers-by. A few of them have managed to find a place among the shoe-shine boys and the local small traders who monopolize the sale of cigarettes and chewing-gum. One finds the older Afghan refugees mainly around the bus station or the town bazaar, where they try to sell

the carpet they have brought with them, or various other items.

At the moment about 10,000 Afghans are living in the frontier town of Zahedan, but their numbers are increasing all the time. Most of the refugees reach Iran after passing through Pakistani Baluchistan – on foot, by camel or in one of the Japanese trucks used for cattle transport. All the Afghans tell us that they were forced to flee.

Once they arrive in Zahedan, the Afghan refugees have to undergo a complete medical examination. As Dr. Mohammed Hussein, himself a refugee, explains: "Only those who have a health certificate are allowed to stay and work in the Islamic Republic of Iran."

A doctor from Kabul, he issues about 800 health certificates a day. On average, five or six out of every hundred refugees are refused a certificate. "There are many cases of leprosy and other skin diseases", says Dr. Hussein. "Also, we have cases of malaria, typhus and cholera, and most of the Afghans are suffering from malnutrition" – the latter the result of the destruction of the crops and the drop in the food reserves caused by the war.

Self-sufficiency

The Iranian Government is making great efforts to find jobs for the Afghan refugees. In the east of the country, farm workers are very much in demand. Before the revolution, poppies were grown there. Now, many fields lie fallow. The Afghans are welcomed by the Iranian Government which is trying to achieve self-sufficiency in basic foodstuffs.

In the other regions of Iran too, the Afghans are allowed to earn their living. This causes tensions with the locals, as the Afghans are often ready to do any work at all for wages below what is being paid for local labour.

Mashhad is the provincial capital of Khorasan. On the city walls, graffiti demand: "Afghans go home." As is often the case in countries where refugees are harboured, there are brawls between locals and refugees, the latter numbering 200,000, or a fifth of the total population of the province. Most of them have not found any work. In front of the Imam Reza mosque, hordes of Afghan children try to sell pilgrims little sachets containing "holy earth" from Mashhad, Oom or Kərbala. Their parents try to keep the family alive by doing casual work. Not easy, but many prefer this to life in a camp.

I visited one of these camps at Zabzevar, a medium-sized town some 250 kilometres from Mashhad. About 5,000 refugees, including more than 1,000 children, are living in tents fixed on a concrete base. At the Zabzevar camp the Afghans receive a hot meal twice a day. They have communal buildings and baths available and can say their prayers in the camp mosque. In the evenings, films are shown in the mosques, and lectures are given by Iranian mullahs. During the daytime, Afghans of all ages can attend classes at the school.

MICHAEL WRASE

REFUGEES – August 1985

Zahedan: medical examination in a reception centre.

Copyright G. Huber



The widows' village of Kerala

REFUGEES – June 1985

Kerala, in the Bajaur district, is unlike any other refugee village. Set up to shelter the survivors of an attack on the Afghan town of the same name, its inhabitants are, essentially, widows and their children.

Kerala does not get many visitors. The Bajaur district in Pakistan is a more tightly closed, tribal area than others. But, like any other border district, it has received tens of thousands of Afghan refugees since 1979. Kerala, one of the 13 refugee villages where new arrivals have been accommodated, has a very special history.

The story goes back to 1979. At that time, in the Kunar valley in Afghanistan, there was a small town called Kerala. On April 22, the village suffered a particularly violent attack: 1,700 men and boys were killed. Practically the entire male population of the community, with the exception of 500 men inhabiting the eastern part which was spared the attack. The survivors – more than 5,000 persons, mostly women, children and old men, fled panic-stricken. On April 26 they entered Pakistan.

"Imagine a haggard crowd of widows and orphans, exhausted after four days of walking, their eyes dull with grief, reaching the homes of Pakistani farmers", relates Gul Ahmed Noor, a village elder. Moved by the refugees' plight, the farmers offered them food and shelter for the first few days. But there were too many of them. The Pakistani Government then decided to build a village, which would be called Kerala and would be inhabited solely by the survivors of the Afghan town bearing the same name.

Nowhere else in Pakistan, and probably nowhere else in the world, is there a village quite like this one. Families, made up of widows and orphans, have been regrouped, three or four to a house. In each house a man – brother, cousin, or other close family member – takes care of the families, bringing them food and clothing. Houses have been built out of *katcha*, similar to those in other villages, but with one difference: the

houses nearest to the road have been raised up to protect the women from the eyes of passers-by, even more so than in the other camps, to respect the wishes of the women themselves, who say they feel "ill-at-ease in a foreign land". The rules for *purdah* are more strictly observed here than in other refugee camps in Pakistan.

Another difference: while this village, like any tribal community, is governed by the Council of the Elders, each decision is taken according to the advice, idea, or recommendation of the women. Since the latter constitute the vast majority, it was decided from the outset to give them their legitimate share of authority.

Today, the camp has 8,200 inhabitants. A considerable proportion of them are still survivors from Kerala, or their descendants, although a few widows who felt too isolated in the neighbouring camps in the district have come to join them there. Some of the younger women have married a brother-in-law, or another surviving member of their husband's family. But most of them will not remarry. Despite the efforts made by UNHCR and the Pakistani Government, as well as by the few men in the village, to enable them to live in the best possible conditions, these women are still sad. Still dressed in black as a sign of mourning, they do not readily allow anyone to come near and shy away from photographers. The visiting nurse in charge of the dispensary set up for them in the camp said that many of these women suffer from psychological disorders because of the great misfortune they have experienced. But also because of their boredom. The new Kerala will never replace the one they have left. "In Afghanistan, we had our livestock, a garden where we grew fruit and vegetables. At home I had a sewing machine. I was always busy. Here I have nothing, I can do nothing. At least if I had a sewing machine and some material ...", complains Gulsanga, a woman

around 35 years of age with large, melancholy eyes. "Here we have something to eat, but it is not always enough. There are 30 of us living in this house, and only one is a man. He does not earn enough money for all of us, and the rations we are distributed are inadequate. We would like to be able to do something and to earn a bit of money too."

Every year on April 22, there is a day of mourning at Kerala. The men meet at the morgue. The elders pray; the sons talk of vengeance. Meanwhile, the women, black-veiled figures, slip furtively from one house to another. Recalling memories in a group helps ease the pain.

ANNICK BILLARD



REFUGEES – July 1985

Grain and water do not by themselves add up to a meal. Fuel must also be obtained. It is estimated that Afghan refugees in Pakistan for instance use a minimum of five kilograms of firewood per family every day. One and a half million people would require four hundred fifty thousand tons of firewood (four hundred thousand full grown trees) per year.

THE VOLAG EXPLOSION

Assistance Programs for Afghan Refugees in Peshawar

The streets of Peshawar bristle with sign boards belonging to voluntary agencies (VOLAGs) offering refugee assistance. Large or small, colorfully painted or crudely stencilled, tacked to mud walls along back alleys or standing before the gates of posh garden-mansions, these signs proclaim the world's commitment to the Afghan refugees. The commitment is not new. The broadened scope of that commitment is.

New observers are soon awash in a sea of alphabetical soup. ARC, IRC, ICRC, ICD, CAR, DRC, NRC, SRC, KRC, SCF, and GTZ trip lightly, if confusedly, off the tongue. More difficult are the likes of AHSHO, UAAR, UAMD, DCAE & IARA. The list which follows this article unscrambles this array and includes the leading programs in Pakistan, with the exception of some in Baluchistan and the Punjab which limited space unfortunately precludes. Most of the VOLAGs are based in Peshawar, however, for it is the administrative center attending to 75% of the Afghan refugees in Pakistan.

The VOLAGs represent Europe, Africa, the USA, the Arab World, Japan, Pakistan & Afghans in exile (both in & independent of the political parties). Often several national agencies share funding & sponsorship. There are also a variety of groups contracted by UNHCR, the United Nations Commissioner for Refugees, the leading foreign assistance agency. All UNHCR projects, including those implemented by VOLAGs, must be approved by the office of the Commissioner of Afghan Refugees (CAR/NWFP). Above all, the VOLAGs in Peshawar receive constructive support from the GOP (Government of Pakistan) & senior administrators of CAR/NWFP. It is they who hold the key to encouraging new developments.

Much of the funding is generated by national Afghan relief committees and almost all the world's renowned non-governmental organizations (NGOs) channel substantial funds through the Peshawar-based VOLAGs & UNHCR. The Norwegian Refugee Council (NRC) has set up a regional monitoring office in Peshawar because its assistance has become so complex. Private donations to individual VOLAGs & UNHCR come from many sources.

Because of saturation, there are overly-long delays in refugee registration, a prerequisite for assistance, even though it is the newly arrived who most urgently need emergency assistance. Some VOLAGs, therefore, continue to provide emergency assistance (Inter Aid, PRC, SRC), but other programmers evidence a disquieting complacency. They contend that "the emergency phase has ended." New arrivals will disagree.

To help stem the flow of refugees, a growing number of organizations supply health, education & food (or money to purchase food) to areas inside Afghanistan where the war has disrupted normal services & economic exchanges (Afghan Aid [UK], CCAR, Swedish Committee). Six-month to one-year training courses for paramedics serving inside Afghanistan with the mujahideen are also offered in Peshawar (SAD, UAAR, UAMD).

Most notable, however, has been the deliberate move beyond care-and-maintenance to multitiered programs designed to better the quality of life in the refugee settlements (RTVs; Refugee Tented Villages) and - importantly - in neighboring Pakistani populations.

Increasingly specialized services are offered in fields such as curriculum planning, teacher training & textbook writing & production (DCAE); English language (AHSHO, IRC); training primary health care workers (ARC, IRC, SCF); TB control (ICD); dermatology (IARA); eye clinics (LORCS); dental units (SDA [UK]); physiotherapy (SRC); paraplegics (ICRC, SSC); pediatrics (AHSHO, Afghan OB/GYN); obstetrics &

gynecology (Afghan OB/GYN); psychiatric referral services (IARA). Scores of hopefuls aggressively seek funding for new programs.

Problem areas exist. Bureaucratic delays, & fierce political & ideological infighting over content, especially in education, intensify as programs venture into new fields. Quality education for girls is woefully inadequate. Enrollment in the 6th & 7th grades is distressingly low & all types of basic equipment, such as laboratory kits for introductory science, are non-existent. A proposal to establish a higher academy for professionals seeks funding but is not designed to accommodate women. War-wounded handicapped men & women require imaginative skill development programs.

More positively, relief substitution programs highlight a two-pronged approach seeking to develop skills which, while generating extra income now, will establish a basis for Afghanistan's future development when the hoped-for return of the refugees to their homeland takes place. Vocational training is offered in such areas as auto mechanics (ARC, UAAR); domestic & commercial electricity, welding, plumbing, carpentry, masonry, construction (GTZ); tailoring (GTZ, UAAR, SRC); shoemaking (UAAR); weaving carpets, blankets & cotton fabrics (SERVE, SRC); women's & children's fashion designing (DRC). All VOLAGs are on the alert for new possibilities.

Although these programs typically provide graduates with basic tools to enable them to set up business on their own, some difficulties have been encountered in attracting students. Many boys prefer to seek jobs in the city which pay more than the monthly stipend they receive while in training, which is generally Rs. 100, or about US\$ 6.

The massive disbursement of refugees seeking employment outside the RTVs causes some to worry that the concept of an Afghan nation in exile will be eroded, adversely affecting Pakistani politics & donor participation. To counter this, efforts are being made to develop services that will make the RTVs more attractive & self-sustaining. The most ambitious project in this field is ASAR (Assistance to Skilled Afghan Refugees in the NWFP) which is implemented by ARC with funds from UNHCR. The project aims to identify skilled Afghans, an estimated 10% of the population, & provide them with 60%-80% of their equipment, plus working capital.

Efforts are also being made to involve refugees in the production of such relief-related items as quilts (Ockenden Venture, SRC), clothing (SRC), & uniforms for schools & hospitals (Afghan Aid [UK], DRC, ICRC, Ockenden Venture, SRC). Many women derive income from these activities, as they do from several embroidery projects (DRC, Inter Aid, Ockenden Venture). One proposal nearing approval seeks to establish a printing press to train printers & generate income while producing desperately needed textbooks (DCAE).

Other income-generation projects include poultry & bee keeping, as well as kitchen-gardening, which is income enhancing since it cuts down on bazaar purchases.

Increased production, by both the skilled & newly-trained, introduces the problem of marketing - including packaging & pricing - a long-neglected component finally being tackled by the Ockenden Venture which will shortly open a sales depot for all goods of acceptable quality made by Afghan refugees. This attention to marketing is of immense importance since a number of unfortunate incidences have curtailed otherwise promising endeavors. Refugees in Chitral, for instance, produced 6,817 kilos of honey one season, which was merely dumped onto the local market where prices plummeted from Rs 60 to Rs 30/kilo.

Less than successful marketing also necessitated the revamping of the fuel-efficient stoves & ovens project (Bellerive Foundation [founded by Sadruddin Aga Khan], a UNHCR project). Pak-German Bas-ed (i.e., Basic-education; GTZ) now includes an energy saving component along with their Basic Education in Areas Affected by the Influx of Refugees in the NWFP. Utilizing funds originally intended for Afghanistan

this project produces literacy teaching materials in Pashto (an innovation despite the fact that 90% of both refugee & local populations are Pashto-speakers), teacher training related to the teaching materials, & non-formal education, including the use of energy-efficient stoves. The Pakistan-German Bas-ed program is area-oriented & includes an equal emphasis on Pakistani villages.

Energy conservation is of great concern. Much of the NWFP's fragile ecology is sorely pressed by the onslaught of 2-million-plus refugees, much less an equal number of refugee livestock. It has been estimated that the average refugee family consumes 4 tons of firewood each year - over a million tons just in the NWFP. SERVE (Serving Emergency Relief Vocational Enterprises) produces solar cookers which are sold to refugees at half price, for RS. 400 (ca. US\$ 25). A nutritionist provides instruction. Further, reforestation comprises a major component of the World Bank's extensive program, which also employs refugee & Pakistani labor to repair roads & irrigation systems in areas with high refugee concentrations.

The World Bank program has been internationally acclaimed as a model for other nations seeking to integrate refugee aid with host-nation development - a world-wide goal put forth by ICARA II (Second Int'l Conference on Assistance to Refugees in Africa, 7/84). Extensive monitoring is a key to its success.

Projects on an even grander scale, such as training hospitals, truck farms, dairy livestock breeding & industrial estates are also under review. In addition to complimenting Pakistan's development schemes, it is projected that these types of assistance will also provide training. For instance, the Afghan refugees are presently prohibited from private farming because this would compromise their temporary status as refugees. Yet 90% of the refugee population are peasant farmers. If their children grow up without knowing how to farm, how will they survive when they return?

Some senior administrators regard all these schemes as "popycock," pointing out that the areas where the RTVs are situated are so bleak they offer minimal opportunities for either agricultural or industrial development; talk of self-reliance is "unrealistic blather." To assess feasibility, therefore, UNHCR has engaged NESPAK (National Engineering Services/Pakistan), a Karachi-based private firm with over 1,000 professionals, to evaluate the impact of projects on both the refugees & Afghan-Pakistan relations.

Such far-reaching considerations underscore the int'l community's concern over how long it can bear the present burden of over US\$ 1m now being spent on the Afghan refugees. Even if sufficient income can be generated, even if 50%-80% self-reliance could be achieved, would it be politically feasible to cut down present services? Eventually this may become a necessity. This year UNHCR faces a US\$ 92m shortfall in contributions to its world-wide programs; even when donors significantly increase national currency contributions, these increases are eroded by the strength of the US\$. Therefore, UNHCR is beset with budgetary curtailments which create a paradox: although expanded programs are admittedly ideal, they are expensive & must inevitably be slashed in favor of emergency & care-and-maintenance programs which must be maintained at all costs.

These are major quandaries. Critics carp about too few beneficiaries & they quarrel over the specifics of nearly all these programs. Certainly the quality of individual programs is uneven. Proprietary attitudes - the jealous protection of individual VOLAG interests - result in poor communications & wasteful duplication. There is much competition for funds. As a result, the well-funded VOLAGs too often jockey with one another, waiting to see who will finally pick up the tab for promising new programs. Unfortunate delays result.

There is some merit, therefore, in the suggestion that there is room for yet another VOLAG - to coordinate the VOLAGs.

Nancy Hatch Dupree
(The Duprees spent the summer of 1985
in Pakistan)

Leading VOLAGs - Peshawar

Afghan Aid [UK]
Afghan OB/GYN (Afghan/USA)
AHSO - Afghan's Health & Social Assistance Organization (Afghan)
ARC - Austrian Relief Committee
Caritas Pakistan
CCAR - Cultural Council for Afghanistan Resistance (Afghan/USA)
DCAE - Development Center for Afghan Education (IRC)
DRC - Danish Refugee Council
GTZ - Gesellschaft fur Technische Zusammenarbeit (German Agency for Technical Cooperation; FRG)
IAC - Inter Aid Committee (Pakistan)
IARA - Islamic African Relief Agency (Sudan)
ICD - Italian Cooperation for Development
ICRC - Int'l Committee of the Red Cross
Idara-e Alya-ul-Aloom (Pakistan)
IRC - Int'l Rescue Committee (USA)
KRC - Kuwait Red Crescent
LORCS - League of Red Cross Societies
NRC - Norwegian Refugee Council
Ockenden Venture (UK)
PRC - Pakistan Red Crescent
Pak-German Bas-ed (FRG)
Rabita al'Alam al'Islami (Muslim World League)
SAD - Society of Afghan Doctors & Health Personnel outside Afghanistan (Afghan)
The Salvation Army
SCF - Save the Children Fund [UK]
SDA - Seventh Day Adventists [UK]
SERVE - Serving Emergency Relief & Vocational Enterprises (USA)
SRC - Saudi Red Crescent
Swedish Committee for Afghanistan
UAAR - Union Aid for Afghan Refugees (Afghan/FRG)
UAMD - Union of Afghan Mujahid Doctors (Afghan)

Nancy Hatch Dupree

EVENTS: Past, Present & Future

AFGHANISTAN - FROM SILK ROUTE TO SALANG-ROAD is the title of an exhibition at the Breda branch of the Dutch National Museum of Anthropology, Kasteelplein 55, Breda. The exhibition "presents a global outline of the historical & cultural background of Afghanistan, life in the Afghan countryside before the April Revolution, a display of textiles & jewelry, and information on the current plight of the Afghans. It is open Mon.-Fri. from 10 to 5, Sundays from 1 to 5 through April 16, 1986. The museum is closed on Saturdays. Drs. Roelof Munneke is the curator of the show.

"Islam & Politics in the Contemporary Muslim World" was the title of a conference fraught with controversy at Harvard Oct. 15 & 16. The controversy, fortunately or unfortunately, was not over Islam but over the fact that the organizer neglected to mention that the CIA was funding the sessions. The two participants scheduled for the one panel on Afghanistan participated, mainly to emphasize to the others present that there are movements in Islam other than fundamentalism.

There will be several panels on Afghanistan at the annual Univ. of Wisconsin South Asia Conference to be held in Madison, Nov. 1-4. We'll have reports in the next issue.

Louis Dupree was a featured speaker at AFGHAN REFUGEE WEEK October 14-18 in Boulder, Colorado. The week was organized by a Refugee Week Committee, a Boulder group, working with the national Afghan Refugee Fund.

HELP!!

The FORUM in one of its 1986 issues will publish an updated list of organizations concerned with Afghanistan. We shall be sending questionnaires to those organizations we know about but we hope you readers will let us know the names & addresses of organizations you are involved with or aware of so we can include them. Don't assume we know about your group; we often miss the obvious.

We'll want to know the organization's name, its address & phone number, the name of the director or other responsible person, whether it issues any publications, and what it does - in 100 words or less. The sooner we get responses, the sooner the list will appear.

ORGANIZATIONS

The Writer's Union of Free Afghanistan (WUFA) is a non-partisan group of Afghan professionals & writers who organized to render possible service to their national cause with their pens. Their objectives are to write pamphlets to counter communist propaganda; to create materials of practical use for youth and other sectors of Afghan society about the perverse effects of the Soviet system on Afghan life; to translate selected works on the USSR & Afghanistan into Pashto, Dari, Turkic, Nuristani, Hazaragi, Dardic, Baluchi & other Afghan languages; (Works in large volumes are condensed to make them portable & of interest to readers inside Afghanistan); to translate into the major foreign languages material produced by Afghans; & to publish 2 journals, one in English & the other in Dari/Pashto. [Information on the English-language edition appears in the Recent Publications section of this issue of the FORUM] WUFA needs funds. Contributions can be sent to Acct. # 1143, Habib Bank Ltd., Jamrud Road Branch, Peshawar, Pakistan. WUFA's phone # in Peshawar is 42288.

*

H. Hamed Sekander, President of the Assn. for the Freedom of Afghanistan in Dallas, Texas, & his son Khalid, a political science major at Southern Methodist Univ., attended the 1985 meeting of the World Anti - Communist League (WACL) held in Dallas 9/8-13. They sent the FORUM reports & excerpts follow: The Dallas meeting was held as a response to an observed threat imposed upon nations wanting to escape the grip of regimes using terror & force upon citizens who seek freedom. WACL acts as an informative organization & 74 nations were represented at the conference which was organized by Maj. Gen. (ret) John Singlaub. Its aim was to mobilize individuals to aid those trying to escape totalitarianism. Afghanistan was designated one of its priority nations - a nation where the majority of the population is trying to expel a communist regime. Afghans attending, besides the Sekanders, were Habib Mayar from the Afghan Community in America & Moh'd Mateen, a freedom

fighter. H.H. Sekander organized an exhibition of photographs of war-torn Afghanistan. Khalid Sekander has organized a food program to aid the freedom fighters. Food, clothing, medicines or money will be gratefully received. The Sekanders can be found at 18520 Crownover Ct., Dallas, Texas. Next year's WACL meeting will be held in Geneva. (See chronology 9/15 for another account of this event.)

*

American Clinic in Afghanistan, c/o Peter Muckerman, Exec. Dir., Telluride Hospital District, Telluride, CO 81435. Some Colorado residents hope to set up a bomb-resistant clinic in Eastern Afghanistan by April 1986. The clinic will be staffed by an American doctor & 2 or 3 paramedics. The staff will be rotated every 2 or 3 months. The clinic will treat sick & wounded Afghan civilians & guerrillas and will serve as a triage area for treatment centers in Pakistan, stabilizing the seriously wounded for the 2 or 3-day journey to Pakistan. The clinic personnel will also train "bare-foot doctors" to disseminate at least rudimentary medical care over a wider area. (Robert Simon's Int'l Medical Corps plans to work in central Afghanistan so that ACA will be complementary, not competitive.) Volunteer personnel will be given special training in both battlefield emergency medicine & the culture & folkways of Afghanistan. The medical teams will be accompanied by an interpreter & assistants from the local area. The clinic will work with the Peshawar-based alliance of the 7 resistance groups & will establish an office in Peshawar. Volunteer or send money to Dr. Muckerman at the above address. If you can't wait, phone ACA at 303-728-3281.

*

American Aid for Afghans, 6443 SW Beaverton Hgwy., Portland, OR 97221, is selling Afghan lapis necklaces (\$39.95 of which \$20 is tax deductible) & earrings (\$8 all of which is tax deductible). Proceeds will go directly to providing medical supplies & assistance to Afghan freedom fighters.

AFGHANS IN CONCERT

The editor & proofreader attended "A Program to Preserve Afghan Culture" on 10/20 near but not on Broadway in New York City. The concert, the 1st of a series of "concerts & dramas" to be directed by Ahmad Shah Alam, an Afghan film-maker trained in Bulgaria, was sponsored by the Afghan Foundation.

One organizer took pains to fill us in, pointing out that the audience was a cross section, an Afghan "middle class" [presumably created for the occasion]. For the first time in New York all party lines - as well as a few rivers - were crossed as the group purportedly contained chicken barons, rug merchants, a blonde, several passing Iranians, some Gailanis, & a group of Afghan Jews from Brooklyn as well as a contingent of Afghans from New Jersey.

Nicely printed banners - "Freedom Is Not Negotiable," "Afghan Mujahideen Defenders of Human Dignity," "Puppet Regime Out of UN; Mujahideen Seated in UN" - covered the walls & some oil paintings & enlarged photographs sat on easels at the front of the room.

The program offerings ranged from the modern tunes of Shah Wali Taranasaz through suggestive ditties by an emigre Tadjik to the classical singing of Moh'd Naim Nazari. The range may have increased but we left about 10:15, not trusting city bus schedules, & the 1st half was not yet over. It had started at 7. Our genial host remarked that he might be there at least through Monday.

Proceeds, if any, are to go to the Afghan Artists Assn. of New York to help support Afghan performers & painters. We look forward to the next concert and/or drama.

ISLAMIC UNITY continued from p. 1

It should be noted that according to the constitution of the coalition, each spokesman would be elected for a period of 3 months. The spokesman will be confined by the decisions of the Supreme Council when he speaks for the coalition. According to the rule of the coalition each party would have its own political activity & the coalition is an umbrella organization to coordinate political & military activities of the constituent parties. So far the coalition has taken careful steps & has been successful. We believe that if the previous mistakes are not repeated, this coalition will not only last but will be strengthened & can gain the confidence of the people of Afghanistan. Once that confidence is built one can expect the coalition to play an effective role in the military & political affairs inside the country. The coalition has a long way to go for the achievement of this aim but with sacrifice, hard work & reasonable policies it can be achieved.

* * *

"When the Heart Starts Beating," a 2-hour VHS video cassette, is available from the Afghanistan Foundation, 310 Greenwich St., New York, NY 10013, for \$49. The film was made by Ahmad Shah Alam & Daniel Bartoli, a Canadian, just before the April Revolution & depicts the life of a Buzkash. It is in French with Farsi subtitles.

* * *



The drawings reproduced below are by children in Afghan refugee camps in Pakistan. The pictures have been collected by the Comite Afghan d'Aide Humanitaire (Case Postal 169, 1211 Geneva 1, Switzerland.) The Committee is planning an international exhibition of the drawings & would welcome suggestions &/or contact with groups interested in sponsoring such a show in their area.

How to Get the Russians Out

To the Editor:

Zbigniew Brzezinski's Oct. 6 Op-Ed article, "Linking Two Crises," presents the ideal solution for the Afghanistan-Nicaragua situations. However, the ideal is seldom possible in international affairs.

Also, could any solution for the Afghan problem (with which I am most familiar, having spent 36 years of research in and about the area) be feasible without consulting the disparate Afghan groups involved? This would include the approximately five million Afghan refugees in Pakistan and Iran, and the seven major religious-political parties in Peshawar, Pakistan, as well as the important Afghan rebel commanders inside the country, a task of no small proportions.

And would any Afghans, inside or outside the country, accept a solution imposed by outsiders, i.e., the United States and the Soviet Union? Many Afghans today talk about a "sellout," an informal trade-off of Central America for Afghanistan, with or without the international guarantees proposed by Dr. Brzezinski.

Indeed, there is a certain arrogance in the suggestion that the U.S. and the Soviet Union can solve the Afghanistan-Nicaragua problems by linking the two. Linkage has too often been the opiate of the foreign-policy adviser and has, at best, brought short-term success.

The suggestion for Afghanistan of a peacekeeping force of troops "drawn from Islamic countries not unfriendly to the Soviet Union and not unacceptable to the United States" has been previously flown up and shot down by the nations that should be involved. With time, however, their attitudes might change. But such a mixed Islamic contingent — possibly from Algeria, Syria and Libya or other combinations — would be fraught with fragmented dangers; for Islam, like Christianity, has never been a cohesive force, unless other factors (economic, political, cultural) contributed to cohesiveness.

But let us assume that the Russians (for whatever reasons) agree to withdraw from Afghanistan, with or without a supervising force. What then? The possibility of civil war in Afghanistan cannot be discounted, as the rebel groups, based primarily on ethnolinguistic commonality rather than religion, fight to establish a regional, political pecking order. Also, the surviving urban literati are divided into two major and several minor leftist and sectarian factions.

The outbreak of violence would occur after — if not before — the departure of Soviet and "supervising" troops.

As the warring factions approach Kabul, whoever is left behind as prime minister, president or whatever in a caretaker capacity could legally invite the Russians to intervene under the Afghan-Soviet Treaty of December 1978. (The current Soviet line is that a "limited number" of troops were dispatched to Afghanistan at the request of the Afghan Government. However, a joke among Soviet intellectuals portrays a different story. One intellectual questions another: "Why are we still in Afghanistan?" Answer: "Because we are still looking for the people who invited us in!")

Because the rebels will have left their mountain hideaways to surround Kabul, Soviet airborne operations could isolate and destroy the main guerrilla forces.

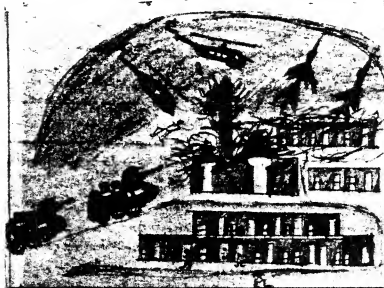
Whatever happens in the future, Afghanistan will never be the same. Therefore, in my opinion, the nations interested in Soviet withdrawal should tackle the problem from several, simultaneous platforms:

- Guarantee the territorial integrity of Pakistan, a state that has accepted about three million Afghan refugees — the world's single largest refugee population — and is unwavering in its support of the rebels.
 - Encourage an Indian-Pakistani rapprochement on the defense of South Asia, probably the most important step that can be taken.
 - Guarantee the availability of weapons to the Afghan rebels in quantity and quality, so that they can make a significant impact on the occupying Soviet forces.
 - Coordinate political offensives in the United Nations and elsewhere, especially in the world press, to keep the Afghan issue in the public eye.
 - Support the indirect-proximity Geneva talks between the foreign ministers of Pakistan and Afghanistan, for they have institutionalized the peace procedures, a door through which all parties can enter when they truly desire a political solution.
- Let no one, however, underestimate the difficulties that must be faced in trying to achieve any of these goals.

LOUIS DUPREE

Durham, N.C., Oct. 15, 1985

NYT 10/25



Bombing a mosque



Execution of villagers in Parwan.



Villagers fleeing to Pakistan

RECENT PUBLICATIONS

"Daylight Raid - Freedom Fighters Batter Kabul Fort" by Philip Edwards in SOLDIER OF FORTUNE. October 1985.

Several articles on Afghanistan appeared in the NATIONAL REVIEW of Oct. 4, 1985: "The Awful Logic of Genocide" by Jean-François Revel, "The New Holocaust" by Rosanne T. Klass, & "'An Entire Country is Dying...'" excerpts from interviews conducted by the Helsinki Watch Committee's interviews with Afghans in Pakistan In Sept. '84.

In STUDIES IN THE ARCHAEOLOGY & PALEO-ANTHROPOLOGY OF SOUTH ASIA (Kenneth A.R. Kennedy & Gregory Possehl, eds, Atlantic Highlands, NJ, Humanities Press, 1984. viii, 144pp. \$22), Jim G. Shaffer reexamines the published data from the Afghan sites of Mundigak, Said Qala Tepe & Deh Morasi Ghundai.

AFGHANISTAN UNVEILED: THE CIA's SECRET WAR by Philip Bonosky, Int'l Publishing Company, 1984. 350 pp.

"Among the Believers" by Rob Schultheis in MOTHER JONES, Vol. X, #IX, November/December 85. P 24.

"Soviet Dilemma in Afghanistan" by Zalmay Khalilzad in CURRENT HISTORY, October 1985.

AL FALAH - DELIVERANCE is the bi-monthly journal of the Afghan Mujahideen in Australia. The August 1985 issue contains a brief summary of May Schinasi's The Afghans in Australia (Occasional Paper #22 of the Afghanistan Council [now the Afghanistan Forum]). Subscriptions to the English edition of AL FALAH are \$US 12/year. Write Al-Falah, GPO Box 1848, Canberra, ACT. 2601, Australia. The August 1985 issue is the 3rd number of Volume 1. (See p. 15)

"A New Soviet Offensive" by Mark Whitaker & Frank Gibney, Jr. in NEWSWEEK, Sept. 9, p. 40.

AFGHAN NEWS is published by the Jamiati-Islami of Afghanistan, Post Box 264, GPO, Peshawar, Pakistan. The 10/5 issue we recently received is # 14.

"The Ordeal of Afghanistan" by John Keegan in THE ATLANTIC MONTHLY, November. Pp. 94-105

From the DRA Gov't presses: THE 20th ANNIVERSARY OF THE PEOPLE'S DEMOCRATIC PARTY OF AFGHANISTAN, materials of the jubilee meeting of the PDPA CC, The RC & the Council of Ministers, Jan. 10, 1985, PDPA CC, Kabul 1985. 104pp. Contains Babrak's speeches & the texts of messages from various Afghan organizations & Party organizations of other countries.

The 4th revised edition of the WHITE BOOK, Foreign Policy Documents of the DRA, has been issued by the DRA Foreign Ministry. The 176-page volume contains the constitutional foundations of the DRA foreign policy; statements, speeches & messages by the head of state; government statements; Foreign Ministry statements; DRA public appeals; Bakhtar Information Agency statements & press commentaries & a chronology of foreign policy events from 12/27/79 to 5/28/85.

"Afghanistan: A Holy-War Stalemate" by Bob Horton in U.S.NEWS & WORLD REPORT, 9/23. Pp 34-37.

A dossier on "Les Droits de l'Homme en Afghanistan" compiled by Bernard Dupaigne is included in the 10/85 edition of LES NOUVELLES D'AFGHANISTAN issued by AFRANE, B.P. 254, 75524 Paris Cedex 11, France.

PAYSANNERIE ET POUVOIR EN AFGHANISTAN DI LA FIN DE LA MONARCHIE À L'INTERVENTION SOVIÉTIQUE by Pierre Centlivres, Geneva, 1985, Center Asiatique, Institut universitaire de hautes études internationales. 32pp.

WUFA, the Journal of the Writer's Union of Free Afghanistan has been published. Vol. 1, #1 has articles on "Soviet Military Attacks in Afghanistan" by Major Nasrullah Safi, "Unity is the Remedy" by A.Rasul Amin, "Soviet Aggression of Afghanistan" by Z.A. Mumtaz, "Coordination Leads to Success" by D.M. Khalil, "A Million Deaths since 1979" by Jamila Luijckx & G.J. Wennik, "A Protracted Warfare Ahead" by H. Hakim Aryubi, "Pushtun Tribes & the Afghan Resistance" by H. Taniwal & A.Y. Nuristani, "Russo-Afghan Relations" by M. Asef Ikram & "Introduction to Animal Farm" by A. Rasul Amin. The English language journal is available from WUFA, P.O. Box 867, Peshawar Univ., (NWFP) Pakistan, for Rs. 25.

BOOK REVIEWS

A PASHTO NEWSPAPER READER, MRM Staff, Kensington, MD, Dunwoody Press, 1984.
ISBN 0-931745-04-7.

A new and much-needed reader with 51 selections ranging from short, easy pieces to longer, more complex articles can finally be added to the existing material we have for learning and teaching Pashto. Each lesson includes a text, a vocabulary section with the work in Pashto, the transcription and the English translation, as well as grammatical notes to complement the text. The materials are limited to selections from the Hewad Daily and the Islah Daily, with a few selections from newspapers published in Pakistan by exile organizations.

The book is divided into 4 parts. The first presents the texts in standard, typewritten Pashto, with lexicon and notes. The second consists of the same texts transcribed. The third shows the original Pashto newspaper versions. The fourth gives the English translations.

This provides a good transition from elementary language lessons to the sophisticated journalistic style of Pashto - a must in any intermediate level course. But it should only be used by an instructor who is capable of elaborating on points beyond those the book itself provides.

One problem with the book is the total lack of any transcription table. Aside from the occasional inconsistency with transcriptions, or the wrongly aligned transcription with a word in the lexicon, there is no key to the pronunciation of transcribed morphemes. Single Pashto morphemes do not receive a single corresponding sign. The book would benefit from an explanatory note on the phonetic system and subsequent transcriptions, or else from using one of the already established systems.

Another difficulty lies in the spelling system used. The script, as well as some of the grammar, varies from the Pashto of Afghanistan to that of Pakistan. Such a book could include a page or two on these differences even if the Afghan script is the only one used, as it is in this book. The authors could have inserted a note on the difference between the spelling used in the newspapers and the one they chose for the typed presentation of the lessons. Why the difference? Who determines the "standard form?"

A third weak point of the book lies in the lexical section following each lesson, from which misunderstanding can arise as to the root versus the affixes. Only at times, for instance, and with great inconsistency, is the traditional suffix hyphenated, resulting in the hyphen losing its significance. In other instances a compound verb will be written as two distinct words in the Pashto script, but as a hyphenated word in the transcription, with the hyphen not corresponding to the break in the two words. For example: رسيدلى مasedaleq.

A Pashto Newspaper Reader is a rich source of data for a second or third year Pashto classroom if used carefully by the instructor. It is also a useful tool for someone with a solid base in the language to further his familiarity with this specific style of language. It is, however, too limited for eager self-learners.

Benedicte Grima
University of Pennsylvania

A Soviet View of Revolution In Another Land, Afghanistan

This article by Aleksandr Prokhanov, a Soviet novelist, was first published in Literaturnaya Gazeta, an official Soviet publication aimed at the "intelligentsia." It was translated from Russian by Marta Skorupsky of the New York offices of Radio Liberty for The Washington Post.

Once again the dry Afghan air, the Afghan light in the most delicate shades of copper and brass. This dusky yellowness is everywhere — on faces, on the heat-baked ancient buildings, on the azure tiles, on the tides of sand in the desert, through which thin arrows of camel caravans pass to all the corners of the world.

A green helicopter flies over a steep slope swaying its fuselage to deceive the infrared sight of an anti-aircraft missile. The village beneath its propellers, the checkered fields of wheat, the barrels of Kalashnikovs [assault rifles] on the soldiers' backs — all are covered by the thinnest layer of brass-colored dust.

Those who have been to Afghanistan will understand this sensation after Moscow and Tashkent, after leaving behind fountains and squares, well-dressed crowds, the problems of everyday work, family related domestic cares, all the familiar bustle, confusion and confidence in the future. They will understand the sensation that arises as the airplane, the mountain ridges overcome, begins its descent into the rocky bowl of the Kabul Valley.

A struggle is being waged amidst the marketplaces, bazaars, mosques, pomegranate orchards and country roads gashed by steel. Fierce, extreme clashes of passions and ideals have drawn in many lives. Here, at the close of the 20th century, there is revolution. Here — there is Islam. Here — there are large-caliber machine guns from China. Tribal elders who have come to Kabul as arbitrators.

A light-haired commando from the Ryzan town of Spas-Klepiki is passing a multi-colored Afghan truck onto a bridge. It is covered with patches and spangles. And you sense that your life and destiny are on the extreme fine edge of today's menacing world, and that the Afghan driver in his turban and the light-haired commando and you yourself are all but small sparks in that fierce, terrible struggle.

Our limited contingent arrived in Afghanistan five years ago; it came when the mosques and schools were already burning, when foreign arms were arriving in huge quantities from Pakistan and an "undeclared war" had been declared and a young friendly republic asked us for assistance.

Five years is not a short time. We have lived through a great deal. Various illusions have disappeared. All those who have served in Afghanistan, soldiers and civilians alike, are united in spirit and in character in a special "Afghan brotherhood."

They recognize one another at once, through some special indefinable "Afghan" habit, look, gesture, expression. Here, in the Soviet Union, I always look for that brass reflection on people's faces. I know that I will be able to listen and talk to my heart's content and that I will be understood.

I recall how we came to this unfamiliar land that first year, how we gazed around at the mountain ridges and deserts, at the white turbans and veils. Our soldiers pitched their tents and formed their squares of green army vehicles, already scarred by the first bullets, on the bare rocks, in the parched steppe. We cherished every drop of moisture. We choked on the lethal wind that seared our lungs.

In the season of bad roads, after the cold rains, the steppe was transformed into black, squelchy mire. I remember how our long-legged jeep sank in to its belly and stuck in front of the commander's tent and a tank, squeezing out a viscous furrow, dragged us some hundred meters to the helicopter landing pad.

Afghanistan has produced its own way of life. Its own allotment of struggle and responsibility. Its own folklore — extensive, naive, affecting, painful, defiant. Songs are now being made up that are reminiscent in some ways of ancient soldier and cossack songs about the homeland. Only instead of a horse, the songs speak of the armored personnel carrier, instead of a saber and spear — of the Kalashnikov.

Any dust-covered ensign who has traveled with a column from Khairaton to Bagram, through ambushes mined by bandits, will sing to you of the Salang route. A tired officer in an unbuttoned shirt, plucking at strings anywhere in the sweltering steppe, will sing to you of the Asian stars. And unseasoned recruits, who have yet to smell gunpowder, will sing to you earnestly and passionately of how they repulsed a دشمن [the Persian word for enemy, used by the Soviet press to refer to the Afghan insurgents] attack and how "our Kalashnikovs fiercely roared."

These songs have soared over the mountains of Asia and now resound in our homes.

I feel as if Afghanistan had cleaved, disjointed our age in half, leaving behind it the life of comfort and abundance, guaranteed personal and social well-being and guaranteed peace, and ushering in terrible days and years that entail acute danger, struggle, defense and renunciation of personal welfare for the benefit of the common cause of the state.

The officers, the older commanders, have earned high rank in a peacetime army, which 40 years ago smashed the enemy in a terrible war and for 40 years has been maintaining stability in the world with tremendous military effort. This army flies, sails, reconnoiters with the radar's eye, masters the use of new technology and exerts itself to the utmost in a supreme defense effort.

But it has not done one thing: it has split no blood. Its cannons have not exploded real targets. Real machine-gun bullets have not struck bullet-proof vests. They did not strike. Until Afghanistan.

Commanders with gray on their temples found themselves under enemy fire for the first time in the foothills of Afghanistan. For the first time they had to send soldiers not into drill attacks, but at the firing positions of the enemy, who were setting fire to our fuel-truck convoys. And only here, in the Hindu Kush, did these commanders, some with academic records, become full-fledged military men.

I remember an older commander who had just joined his unit. He rushed into the midst of enemy fire, losing no time to test himself in the face of mortar shelling. He wanted to understand what infantrymen feel as they walk along a mined path. From then on, his orders were the orders of a man who has known and overcome the fear of death and who values the life of a soldier.

"Sonny" — that is what the older commanders call their men. "Sons," soldiers. The grandsons of those who won the Great Patriotic War, whose attacks, wounds and common graves won peace for the Fatherland. Who gave us beautiful new cities, our postwar culture. Who made possible the birth of a new generation that has not witnessed war.

Who are they, these soldiers of the '80s, who grew up in a time of peace, these pampered "mama's boys," so often the target of criticism from our moralizing pedagogues, from the zealous defenders of our morals and our way of life?

Speeding in a personnel carrier through the steppe to a village with an urgent assignment, the driver of the vehicle came upon a green field of wheat. He could not bring himself to drive over the grain. Instead, he began to circle the peasant plot along a country road. And on that dusty road the vehicle hit a mine.

When the alarm sounded, the sergeant and his platoon embarked on their mission. But the mountain path concealed a land mine, and so the sergeant did not allow the novices to go in first; he advanced ahead of them, alone, protecting his comrades.

From behind the clay fence, snipers opened fire on the passing vehicle. They wounded the company favorite, a fun-loving young fellow. The soldiers rushed into the village behind the fences and in a short battle destroyed the enemy ambush. And when the terrified, timid inhabitants — old men in turbans and a white-bearded mullah — came out to meet the soldiers, explaining that the village was not to blame, that the bandits had appeared at night, and asking that the shurawi [Soviet troops] did not harbor ill feeling toward the villagers, the shurawi did not harbor ill feeling.

They dispatched their wounded comrade to the medical unit and shared their rations. They knew that the bandits who fired the shots and the terrified, poverty-stricken farmers were not one and the same. They shared their bread with the dekhkany [peasants].

We brought in our contingent at the request of a friendly neighboring country under attack from abroad by an enemy that is also our enemy. The formula that justifies our temporary military presence in Afghanistan is the performance of our international, allied mission and the defense of our southern borders.

I am not a general staff officer. I merely recall our recent history. Several times in the prewar years, Soviet servicemen had to unsheathe their weapons on foreign territory. In Mongolia, on the Khalkhin Gol [river], we clashed with the samurai. We waged tank and bayonet attacks. We perished. Our graves lie on Mongolian land. Those graves, those tank and bayonet attacks, prevented the Japanese Kwantung army from invading. They saved our people thousands of lives. They saved the Siberian divisions for Moscow, enabling them to defeat the fascists at Volokolamsk and Klin.

Our volunteers — fliers, tankmen, riflemen — fought in Spain. They fought against Franco, they fought against Hitler. We did not win then. The Spanish Republic fell. It is difficult to conjecture today, but let us imagine for a moment what would have happened had the Republic survived, if by 1941 Spain had been a strong state that was friendly to us, linked to us by bonds of brotherhood, remembering our military assistance.

Undoubtedly, it would have been easier for us at Sevastopol, Yelnya, Smolensk. There would have been fewer death notices. The question of a second front would have looked different.

All of this is pure conjecture, of course. I merely want to state that in Spain, at Guadalupe, and Madrid, we also fought for Brest, for Kiev and for the Volga.

That is how it was when there were no nuclear bombs, no missiles, no atomic submarines, when entire "peaceful zones" remained in the warring world, untouched by hostilities.

Today, "theaters of military action" merge instantaneously. The enemy is preparing a strike against the Fatherland from all corners of the world. From Europe — with Pershing and cruise missiles. From the Mediterranean Sea and the Persian Gulf — from their aircraft carrier formations. From the Indian Ocean, Diego Garcia and over the North Pole — with their strategic bombers.

Our defense is global; it passes over the poles and over the equator, through the skies and across the bottom of the ocean. In peacetime, in a time of no war, the enemy is seeking to create for himself a convenient staging area for future strikes; he is striving to break apart our military alliances, to embroil us in quarrels with our neighbors, to violate the balance of global space. And the violation of this balance of space constitutes a violation of parity, no less a breach of strategic balance than the production of the MX, the B-1 or of Star Wars.

We are not Utopians; nor are we crazy. We are those who yesterday crossed a flame-

ing Europe and Asia. Those who today hold the enemy in check in the compartments of submarines, out on long patrol. Those who sit in the hot interiors of armored personnel carriers. Those who are performing our state's centuries-old task.

The helicopter is making its landing approach under the brass sky. It will soon touch the ground of the land, where every step is won only with difficulty and courage, where one takes along a mine detector when going for water to the stream near the road.

The mountain optics here is quite singular. Everything that until recently, beyond the mountains, seemed agonizingly important, your personal, immediate concerns with offenses, with pride, all suddenly disappear and are forgotten here. A different vision emerges instead. Of the world — as a whole. Of the people — as a whole. Of the Homeland — as a whole.

A soldier in tropical headgear leans against the dust-covered armor of the personnel carrier, his blue eyes gazing into the yellow sky. Hartford Courant 9/29

EXCERPTS from BABRAK KARMAL'S SPEECH TO THE TRIBAL JIRGAH ON 9/14:

Dear brother representatives of frontier tribes & clans: Today we have gathered in Kabul city, the heart of our common, historic & united homeland...in pursuance of the distinct habits of our fathers & ancestors to hold a jirgah... The brave & militant, united, fraternal & equal Pashtun & Baluch brothers have played ...a patriotic role...in safeguarding the homeland & in struggling against colonialists in this region... At the same time we do not forget even for a moment the patriotic role played in this regard by other fraternal nationalities residing in the country...

We gathered here according to the distinctive customs & traditions of Afghans & Pashtuns &, in accordance with the sacred religion of Islam, to discharge our sacred duty & determine the future destiny of the homeland of Afghans, particularly that of our vast frontier tribes & clans re-

lated to all Pashtoon nationality & to search the ways for the ever-rapid annihilation of tricky enemies of anti-Pashtoons & anti-Afghanistan...

Whenever the freedom of our country was at stake, the brave sons of our homeland had stood up & shoulder to shoulder with the frontier Pashtun tribes... defended the dignity of their homeland against the aggressors, exploiters & foreign occupationists. It was & is so & we believe it will be so in the future, too.

All generations of Afghanistan have always remembered the golden pages of our country's history, & bend before the red flags & the blood & pure souls of the martyrs of the path of the freedom of the homeland. Jirgahs of chieftans, reputable figures & elders of tribes & clans, which have always been the manifestation of unity & solidarity..., used to take decisions & would fight in the years of...war against the foreign aggressive enemies.

[In the struggle for independence] The establishment of the PDPA is considered as the greatest historic event in the course of independent & progressive development of our country... The Party has been changed into one of the biggest, progressive organizations in the Islamic world....

[The April Revolution is forging ahead but it] is traversing the path of growth under deeply backward conditions & the Revolution had to solve more problems than many other countries [and they had to be solved] according to the character-

istics of Afghan society under the specific religious, national & tribal conditions. International imperialism..., the reaction of the region & the local counter-revolution... resorted to armed interference...

The growth of the April Revolution was not harmonious, apart from the problems inherited... grave mistakes & unforgiveable deviations in implementing a series of important political, economic & social changes & incorrect approaches toward different issues relating to strata of the people & social & national issues [including those] related to nationalities, clans, tribes, the Pushtoons in particular, were committed in the 1st stage of the Revolution... [by Hafizullah Amin]... Many outstanding...party members were either exiled or put behind bars or killed. ...The dismemberment of the country & the stifling of freedom & national independence were getting closer.

What were we to do when the existence...of our homeland & people was at question? Do you know what a great task...was put on our shoulders?...Should one not take the responsibility to rescue the homeland...? Every man who nurtures in his heart the sacred sentiment of love to the homeland, every one in whose veins runs the Afghan & Pashtoonwali blood, certainly gives the same answer....The progressive forces pulled out the cancer from the body of the party on 12/28/79 & thus rescued the party, the homeland & the people from the horrible & deadly evil.

The victory of the new phase...provoked our enemies hysteric wrath, & all our enemies...stood against us. The enemies, using the sacred religion of Islam as a flickery mask, deceived our working compatriots, drew some of them to the ranks of the counter-revolution & compelled them to take arms against their brothers, sisters, fathers, mothers & children.... Not withstanding these threats, ...our revolution is alive. It is struggling & touches the shores of a complete victory. The basic achievement of our revolution is the establishment of the people's revolutionary rule & the creation of a new political system loyal to & servant of the people in which the PDPA plays a leading & organizing role. Beside the party, the new political system is based on the pillars of the NFF, consisting of all patriotic individuals of the country...

The national economy is gradually being organized, the public sector is consolidating...The private sector has a great role to play in the national economy...The party & state have developed concrete measures for the development of agriculture... The wages of workers have increased... During the past 5 years...the state...has spent billions of Afs. for the development of the economy & culture of tribes & clans... I want to ask you, respected elders...have you seen in your lifetime such great transformations in such a short span of time?...

Now Amirs, neither kings nor Daoud were able to solve the ...problems of the free life of frontier tribes...On the contrary, they submitted a part of their soil to the British & put one against the other & against the central power....Today, too, billions of US\$ are being spent...to sow discord among tribes clans & for the killing of Pashtuns & Afghans. [Experience shows you that since the new phase of the revolution] Proper conditions have been provided for the solution of fundamental problems of frontier clans.... We expect the representatives of local jirgahs & clans to preserve their close cooperation with the state power in the provinces & in Kabul...

During the few days of your stay in revolutionary Kabul, you have visited factories, the lycees & military units & other institutions, talked with workers, students & soldiers...You have walked the streets of the city & have seen with your own eyes that the ancient capital of all Afghans is widening & developing with every passing day. New beautiful & modern buildings are being constructed, residential buildings are expanding. Bazaars & shops...are full of different commodities & the trade is on a rapid development. Citizens are wearing appropriate clothing; happy people being seen manifests the cheerful spirit of Kabul residents who represent all nationalities, clans & the tribes all over the country & people from all provinces.

In the days of elections,,, the capital of Afghanistan was decorated with flags, banners, posters & beautiful flowers. [Visitors will] never forget those joyful scenes ... Such a state of affairs could have also existed in the frontier areas of the country if our enemies had not disturbed our security from beyond the borders. ...How long can freedom-loving & proud Pashtuns tolerate injustice, poverty, backwardness & the filthy existence of the enemy of Pashtuns & Afghans on the sacred soil of our country?

[The assistance program to you has been started; you have to] defend the homeland & put an end to the aggressive war of imperialism & reaction; make use of all your potentials in the service of the cause so the borders of our state... can be strengthened...What the gov't can provide to tribes does not only depend on resources, but also on all-sided cooperation, good-will & understanding which has to exist between tribes & the gov't....

It is necessary that the tribes should not provide the possibility of their territory being used for arms traffic by the miscreants... The dignified tribes should not assist such ominous & anti-Islamic activities. They should not give any chance for subversive activities to be launched from their land... We expect the noble frontier tribes to help irrigation, medical & agricultural experts & other professional employers in carrying out their activities. Similarly, the frontier tribes should cooperate in promoting trade & transportation & support the activities

of the DRA state launched for meeting their life sustenance such as food, clothing & other material & cultural requirements...

The Soviet Union is supporting the freedom, national independence & social progress of our homeland... When the existence of our homeland & revolution was at stake, responding to our request our sincere friend, the Soviet Union dispatched its limited military contingents to the DRA... [As to] the unremitting friendship of Afghan people with the great people of the Soviet Union, let every honest son of the motherland respond friendship with friendship & goodness with goodness. Let the hues & cries of of the propaganda which is aimed at misinterpreting the real nature of the Soviet assistance to Afghanistan ascend to the sky through their so-called "voices" and radios. We ask the Soviet Union not to call back its limited contingents until the US, British & Chinese threat as well as the danger of aggressive militarist reaction of Pakistan & Iran cease to exist... When reliable guarantees are given & the interference & aggression cease, the limited military contingents of the Soviet Union will return to their country & we will exhort them to their country with gratitude...

Friends of revolutionary Afghanistan are on the increase. We have friendly relations with the fraternal Arab peoples, the entire Muslims of the world, the progressive Arab countries as well as other nations of the world...

With hope we notice that the fraternal peoples of Iran & Pakistan more than before are siding with the Afghan revolution ...The toiling people of Pakistan & Iran shall trust & count on the solidarity & support of the revolutionary people of Afghanistan. [The ruling circles of Iran & Pakistan are] bent on expanding... their hostile activities against the ...people of Afghanistan... The enemies are expanding the undeclared war in the areas where you are living. They have been trying to draw you into this filthy aggression... sowing seeds of discord among you...[We expect you elders to realize] that the enemies of the new Afghanistan are your enemies, the enemies of the Pushtuns & Baluch in particular... Make your historical choice! "Don't put your feet on 2 boats at a time." Don't disperse: the enemy is very deceitful & sly. Let us unite in a single common trench [so we] can clean all the mountains, routes, valleys, villages, houses & all corners of the country from the filth of the saboteurs, robbers, rebels, killers & the terrorist bands... The key to the borders of our beloved Afghanistan is in your hands... You should express your credible commitments... Let it be known to all that the borders of our country are closed to the enemies...

This loya jirgah has called on all our people to take an active part in the defense of the April Revolution... Let us support the call of this historic loya jirgah...



CHRONOLOGY

8/22 - BIA - To mark the 7th anniversary of the April Revolution, 30 women from the Krepka Corp. (established in 1983) have begun weaving a "unique carpet." The 16 x 11 meter carpet is to be completed by next April at a cost of Afs. 30m.
- The USSR will give the DRA radio & tv transmitters worth 2m rubles.
- A declaration by the Jamite-Ulema (sic) in the Khyber Agency states that anyone crossing Afridi regions "to carry out murderous & plunderous acts inside Afghanistan" & anyone assisting them will be fined 10,000 Pakistani Rs.
- Bakhtar's political observer writes that BBC collaborates with British intelligence, the CIA & the "audio-visual administration of NATO" & thus "plays an active part in the psychological war against the people of Afghanistan."

8/24 - BIA - DRA Foreign Minister Shah Moh'd Dost left for Geneva for the 5th round of Geneva talks on the Afghan issue.
- The RC* Presidium remitted the sentence of 10 years of prisoners in honor of Eid-ul-Adha.

8/25 - Sarwar Mangal, Pres. of the DRA State Planning Commission, left for the USSR to participate in the 5th meeting of the USSR-DRA Economic Commission.

8/26 - PT - Pakistan's Foreign Minister Sahabzada Yaqub Khan stopped briefly in Moscow on his way to the 5th round of Geneva talks.
- Mujahideen shot down a MIG & a helicopter gunship in the Bagrami subdivision of Kabul on 8/6.
- BIA - Babrak, in his Eid-ul-Adha address pointed out that DRA accomplishments in Islamic affairs included the establishment of a college of theology at Kabul Univ. & 20 religious secondary schools throughout the country. He said that in the recent elections of local council representatives, one out of 9 electees was a clergyman.

*RC = Revolutionary Council

8/27 - NYT - Soviet & DRA troops began a major attack in Paktia (see 9/9 & p.12).
- PT - 10,000 inmates of Wing III of Pul-i-Charkhi prison in Kabul went on a hunger strike protesting their "inhuman torture." According to the Agency Afghan Press in Peshawar, 400 of the prisoners were removed for "special consultation" & their whereabouts remain unknown.
- BIA - The DRA Postal Dept issued 57 stamps last year commemorating national & int'l events. The same item says an additional 35 stamps were issued to commemorate 10 events.
- Babrak visited patients in the Armed Forces Hospital.

8/29 - BIA - Poems were recited at a "gala meeting" in the Ministry of Tribes & Nationalities to celebrate Pushtoon & Baluch Solidarity Day.
- Czechoslovakia will help with the construction of an addition to the Ghorri cement factory to be completed in 5 years.

8/30 - Paul Harvey News - "In Geneva today the talks on Afghanistan are due to adjourn having accomplished absolutely nothing (see 9/17 & 10/7)."

- NYT - **C**ongress has decided that one thing needed in Afghanistan is an effective "media service" for reaching outside news organizations with the story of the struggle against Soviet occupation forces. Accordingly the United States Information Agency is advertising in the Federal Record for "concept papers" on strategies for better gathering and marketing of Afghan combat news. Under a \$500,000 grant by Congress, the agency is to try to encourage closer coverage of the fighting by outside reporters, to train and equip Afghan television cameramen and even to move toward creating "an independent Afghan Media Resource Center in proximity to the war zone."

8/31 - NYT - 22 Afghan refugees went on a hunger strike in New York City to protest their detention pending action on their applications for political asylum.

9/1 - BIA - In Kabul elections 461 people, including 40 women, were elected to the local councils of state power & administration.

9/2 - BIA - DRA Education Minister Abdul Samad Qayumi writes that there are over 600,000 students enrolled in DRA schools. Over 70,000 were admitted to the 1st grade this year. About 80% of the children in primary schools belong to workers' families; 40% of those in the higher grades belong to "higher level families including traders"; 1% belong to nomad families. There are over 1,000 schools in session in the DRA.

9/3 - NYT - Over 10,000 Soviet soldiers are trying to cut guerrilla supply routes in the Azra Valley & Haji regions of Paktia (see 9/9 & 9/23).

- BIA - A jirgah of elders from Border tribes will be held in Kabul sometime soon. Tribal representatives are being given grand tours of Kabul in preparation for the assembly.

9/4 - American Aid for Afghans letter - In mid-August AAFA sent 2 doctors & 2 nurses inside Afghanistan along with \$14,200 worth of medical supplies. They were accompanied by a team from CBS & the Arizona Republic newspaper. AAFA is currently operating independently from the Int'l Medical Corps because IMC's efforts to obtain US Gov't funding has required them to stop any involvement with Americans going into Afghanistan. The IMC will be recruiting non-American doctors.

- BIA - "Right now the State Transport Enterprises are possessing over 1,400 cargo vehicles...The Soviet Union has given 1,500 Kamaz motor vehicles to the Ministry...which has tremendously helped the growth of the transport system..."
- The first batch (125) of hajis returned from Jeddah.

9/7 - BIA - Sultan Ali Keshtmand returned yesterday from the USSR where he had gone for a medical checkup.

- Kindergarten teachers in the DRA are undergoing 6-month courses preparing them to "teach the children theoretically & practically at the pre-school level." The basic subjects in the courses are psychology, pedagogy, politics, math, Persian literature, environmental studies, health education & art.

- 52 people died when a Bakhtar Airlines plane going from Kabul to Farah was shot down by counter-revolutionaries.

9/7 - BIA - DRA security forces carried out a "successful operation" in Khost capturing 300 counter-revolutionaries with their leaders, Hazrat Moh'd & Wazir Mangal.

9/8 - NYT & Los Angeles Times - Afghan Radio said that rebels had shot down a Bakhtar Airlines plane last Wednesday. The plane had stopped at Kandahar en route from Kabul to Farah. 47 passengers & 5 crew members died. The Radio said a US-made ground-to-air missile was used in the attack. Hezb-i-Islami reported that its forces had shot down a Soviet military transport taking off from Kandahar on 8/28, a week before the incident reported on Kabul Radio. It is not known if both reports refer to the same plane.

9/9 - LA Times - Guerrilla groups based in Peshawar denied responsibility for shooting down the Afghan domestic plane. Spokesmen said they "would never shoot down a plane with innocent people on board. It could only happen if our brothers knew the plane was carrying Russian soldiers, which the airline often does." There is no large civilian airport in Farah but the province does contain the largest Soviet military airbase in Afghanistan.

- SCMP - The Paktia fighting:

Rebel reinforcements were rushing to eastern Afghanistan today to attempt a second counter-offensive against thousands of Russian troops pounding Muslim insurgents near the Pakistan border, rebel leaders said in Peshawar.

A prominent rebel leader headed the fresh fighters marching towards Khost, where rebels reported by radio yesterday they were suffering heavy casualties from the latest and bloodiest Russian operation this year.

Russian troops fighting around Khost, a garrison town on a frontier plain often used by rebel infiltrators, may soon be reinforced by other Russians retreating from a rebel counter-offensive last week around Jaji further north in Afghanistan's Paktia province, the rebels said.

The main aim in Khost for the Russian troops, estimated at 15,000 by Western diplomats, was to build what Afghanistan's President Ba-

brak Karmal last month called an "impenetrable barrier" against rebels coming from bases in Pakistan.

The rebels say this is impossible.

"The Russians have come in very large numbers and there have been heavy casualties among the Mujahideen (Islamic warriors)," said Mr. Salim Nawab, a spokesman for the fundamentalist Hezb-i-Islami party.

Also in Peshawar, International Red Cross officials hastily set up a 50-bed Norwegian Army field hospital outside the city to accommodate the record number of war wounded arriving from the fighting around Khost.

A 100-bed Red Cross hospital in Peshawar has 200 wounded and about 300 more are being treated in hospitals run by Afghan refugee groups, according to Mr. Francois Zen-Ruffinen, the head of the International Committee of the Red Cross delegation in Peshawar.

9/10 - BIA - Bandits killed and/or arrested in Paghman included Moh'd Asif of Jamiat & Sayed Molah & Mohib of Etihad-Islami.

- Noorullah, Pres. of Bakhtar Airlines, said that the downing of the plane (see 9/7) cost the airline Afs. 500m - over & above the loss of the crew.

- Gen. Baba Jan is the new DRA ambassador to the German Democratic Republic. He speaks Russian & Turkish.

- CSM - Anthony Arnold writes that the PDPA claims 130,000 members, which he feels is an exaggeration. Even if correct, the figure amounts to less than 1% of the population. "From 1983 to 1984, the number of party committees in the 89 large districts & cities in Afghanistan actually fell, from 70 to 61. The celebration of the 20th anniversary of the founding of the PDPA, supposed to be held on 1/1/85, had to be delayed until 1/10; not even in Kabul could the combined forces of the Afghan military & Soviet occupation troops ensure the safety of foreign communist guests."

9/11 - BIA - Karim Shadan, Pres. of the DRA Special Revolutionary Court, received the Red Banner Medal from the RC.

- Over 30,000 Kabul families will each receive a ton of coal in the near future for a very low price. The gov't. will also help the people transport the coal from the distribution points to their homes.

- The DRA exported over 22,000 tons of raisins last year to the USSR, the GDR & Britain.

- Punduk, a Baluch in Kabul for the border tribes' jirgah, said that over 70 people are organized into defense groups in his village in Nimroz. He said that bandits with the help of Pasdaran (Iranian guards) used to attack his village "but now they have no courage for it."

- DRA civil aviation pilots, flight engineers & stewardesses have sent a protest note to the US Senate denouncing the downing of the Bakhtar plane (see 9/7) & stating that US weapons were used in the "bestial crime."

9/12 - BIA - The families of those killed in the Bakhtar Airlines plane downing (see 9/7 & 9/11) have also written to the US Senate.

- An Afghan delegation left for Bangkok to visit UNESCO projects in Thailand. Members will talk with UNESCO authorities about the possibilities of expanded UNESCO assistance for projects in the DRA.

- NYT - 15 Afghans ended an unsuccessful hunger strike (see 8/31) last Tuesday after one was hospitalized & one began coughing blood.

9/13 - Afghan News (Jamiat) - Soviets launched an offensive against mujahideen in Mazar-i-Sharif, landing troops in the Mormol, Shadian & Shoolgar areas. The action lasted a week. The mujahideen leader at Mazar is Mawlawi Alam who assumed command after the death of Zabihulla.

9/14 - NYT - The US, citing reports of spying by UN personnel, will restrict the movements of some UN employees, including Afghans. Afghans in their UN Mission must now get State Dept. permission to travel more than 25 miles from New York.

- BIA - Babrak opened the high jirgah of frontier tribes. The jirgah was attended by over 2,500 representatives & was held at the Kabul Polytechnic Inst. Officers elected were Senator Haji Moh'd Chamkani as President of the Executive Commission of the jirgah & Abdul Giace (Kandahar), Ghulam Naqashband (Zabul) & Col. Noor ul Hab (Nooristan) as Secretaries. Babrak welcomed "the Pashtoon ... & other fraternal tribes & nationalities comprising of Baluchis, Nooristanis & Pashies (sic) in your heroic city of Kabul. This is the 1st time in the course of the thousand years long history of our country that the deputies of all tribes, representing the entire frontier areas, have been invited to assess & evaluate the basic national & int'l issues of their ancestral land... You have been invited to consult on the significant national issues, e.g., defending the soil of our ancestral homeland & the tradition of freedom of the tribes, safeguarding the frontiers of our united homeland... & ensuring the participation of the tribes in the political, economic, social, cultural & administrative affairs of the country..." (For more of Babrak's remarks see p. 34)

-In his speech Babrak said that there were now 140,000 Party members.

9/15 - PT - Pres. Zia, at a gathering in Jeddah, said that he considered the freedom struggle of Afghanistan as Pakistan's own because Pakistan could face the same situation someday. He said Pakistan was in no apparent danger from the existing 100,000 Soviet troops in Afghanistan, but if the number grew to 300,000 there might be cause for concern.

- Pakistan rejected the DRA's demand for direct talks on the Afghan issue in Geneva next December. The Pakistanis stated they were in Geneva to negotiate a political settlement, not to legitimize the Kabul regime.

- Students in Malaysian universities sent a telegram to the Soviet ambassador in Kuala Lumpur expressing their concern over the continued Soviet presence in Afghanistan.

- BIA - Elections for people's deputies in local councils of the jirgahs in Badakhshan began on 9/16. 127 deputies were elected in 11 districts in Faizabad & Ishkashem.

- Over 2,000 counter-revolutionaries were "exterminated" in Paktia.

- From the Bakhtar political observer: "Yonus Khaled, one of the notorious leaders of the terrorist bands, as broadcasted by the Voice of America has expressed his satisfaction & happiness for the plane being shot down by the counter-revolutionary elements. The perpetrators of this inhuman incident have allegedly claimed that the passengers on board the plane were not civilians which is totally void of truth. Whereas Yonus Khaled has said that the counter-revolution is striving to shoot down any planes flying in the air space of Afghanistan... The Bakhtar Information Agency has published the full identification of all the passengers martyred in the horrible incident rebuffing the claim made by the counter-revolutionaries as well as for giving a clear proof of the fact that the passengers on board were civilians." (See 9/7)

- NYT - Rich Texans & Rebels:

DALLAS, Sept. 13 — The 30-year-old scion of a Mississippi family with some money to spare came to Dallas with his Puerto Rican-born wife for a \$500-a-plate dinner and the chance to rub shoulders with anti-Communist rebels from around the world.

Beside them was Maj. Gen. John K. Singlaub, a retired Army officer and World War II hero who was relieved as chief of staff of United States forces in South Korea in 1977 after publicly criticizing President Carter's tentative decision, later reversed, to reduce the number of United States troops there. The meeting was the kind of thing he has become expert at arranging.

He says he wants to turn back Communism with a coalition of people who are willing to risk their lives and people who are willing to risk at least part of their fortunes. . . .

General Singlaub, who has become a major figure in gathering money and supplies for the Nicaraguan anti-Government rebels and in advising them on arms purchases, uses as his organizational base the World Anti-Communist League and its American affiliate, the United States Council for World Freedom. He is chairman of the first group and president of the second.

The World Anti-Communist League, which says it has members in more than 90 countries, finished its four-day annual conference Thursday night with the International Freedom Fighters Dinner, to which the general invited some multimillionaires and other rich people. He estimated that 60 to 70 Texans came to mingle with the delegates and representatives of guerrilla armies under the crystal chandeliers of the ballroom of the Registry Hotel. . . .

During the days of meetings, the delegates heard reports on the status of anti-Communist rebel movements in Afghanistan, Nicaragua, Mozambique, Angola, Ethiopia, Laos, Cambodia and Vietnam. General Singlaub called the existence of these groups the most significant international political development of the last 40 years. . . .

At the closing dinner, the delegates and the affluent contributors and would-be contributors had photographs taken with rebels who wore a variety of garb. Dr. Ikram Gran of Afghanistan, dressed in the short, baggy trousers and unbuttoned camouflage shirt he wore to all the meetings, was sought after for photographs. Mr. Calero wore a business suit, as did Holden Roberto of Angola. Mr. Irb wore a tuxedo and a shirt with gold buttons, and the television crews wore blue jeans.

President Reagan sent greetings, and so did 25 hotel employees, many of whom General Singlaub said were "refugees from Communist tyranny."

The dinner guests stood and cheered at every opportunity, especially for Hubert Rodriguez, a 21-year-old Nicaraguan rebel whose left leg was amputated because he developed gangrene after he had to walk and crawl 13 days to find medical care. Mr. Rodriguez received one of the "freedom fighter of the year" awards. The other went to an Afghan who, according to General Singlaub, led an action that cut off the electricity of Kabul for more than a week. He could not be in Dallas.

(See p.3 for another report)

9/15 - BIA - An Indian trade delegation arrived in Kabul to discuss the promotion of Afghan fruit in India & other items of trade expansion.

- Some tribal statistics: Pashtoons make up 80% of the cadres of the armed forces & 13 (out of 23) are members of the Council of Ministers. 155 people (nationalities not given) are on the central committee of the tribal jirgah, which began 9/14 in Kabul.

9/17 - PT - Pres.

Zia on the UN talks: Asked what the U.N. mediator, Mr. Diego Cordovez, has indicated at the end of the fifth round of the Geneva talks, that there were chances of important progress on the Afghan question, were false hopes, the President replied: "No, no, they were not false hopes."

He said a political solution of the Afghan problem was perhaps the only solution that could be found. There was no military solution to the problem. "If the Afghan problem is to be resolved, it can only be resolved under a political plan and for a political plan, the only vehicle we have is the indirect Geneva talks," he added.

He said there had been five rounds, and all five had been quite successful. The mere fact that Geneva six was coming in December showed that there was progress, he pointed out.

MIRACLES

- Asked what was his assessment of the chances, he said it was difficult to concretize the chances of a political initiative. "You can say it is likely to succeed. But sometimes mirac-

les also happen, and I am a great believer in miracles. If Geneva leads to a Russian withdrawal, it will be a miracle of the 20th century" he said.

Answering a question whether the Russians were likely to withdraw at all and what kind of assurances they wanted, the President replied they wanted the guarantee that Afghanistan was stabilised, there was no outside interference and that there was no internal strife.

"How we are going to provide guarantees, how we are going to ensure that there is no outside interference," were some of the aspects of the discussions at the Geneva talks, he said.

He said the superpowers, or the permanent members of the Security Council, have to give guarantees. The United States has agreed, Britain has agreed, and China has agreed to provide guarantees.

Asked if he thought there was a movement towards that, the President said there was certainly progress at the Geneva talks. "We hope we can, as I say, pull off a miracle, Insha Allah," he remarked.

9/17 - PT - In the last 2 months about 21,000 Afghan refugees have come to Pakistan from Paktia because of the fighting. The NWFP Refugee Commissioner said that the extraordinary influx was putting a terrific burden on relief agencies. He said that the chances of increased relief aid were remote since so much aid was being diverted to Africa (see 9/29).

- BIA - "Over 500,000 working people of Kabul City staged a grand march" to honor the "successful conclusion" on 9/15 of the tribal jirgah.

9/18 - PT - Richard Nixon, in Pakistan, visited the Nasir Bagh RTV.

9/19 - PT - DRA Brigadier Gen. Ghulam Rasool & Maj. Gen. Hamidullah were reported killed when their MI-24 helicopter was shot down in Paktia.

9/20 - PT - The UN General Assembly Steering Committee recommended that the Afghan question be placed on the agenda of the UNGA 40th session. The USSR & Kabul representatives opposed the inclusion but did not push it to a vote. DRA UN representative Moh'd Farid Zarif said, "No outcome of such a debate would either be acceptable or binding on Afghanistan."

9/21 - PT - A building for the manufacture of quilts was opened in the Kababian RTV outside Peshawar. The building was financed by the UNHCR & the Ockenden Venture, a British voluntary agency. Tool kits were given to 122 Afghans who had completed 6 months of training in auto mechanics, plumbing, welding, tailoring & carpentry. The kits, worth Rs 1,000 each, are to enable the refugees to start their own businesses. (See N. Dupree's article p.25)

9/22 - PT - Alex Alexiev writes that the Soviet "stick & carrot" strategy in Afghanistan involves 4 specific tactics: 1. Outright destruction of crops by napalm & discouraging agricultural activities by mining fields. 2. Destruction of the irrigation system. 3. Buying up of surplus food from peasants at prices much higher than the market rates. 4. Supplying peasants living in gov't controlled areas with seed, fertilizer & tools on extremely favorable terms.

- NYT - The month-long Soviet-DRA offensive in Paktia appears to be over. DRA troops left Lezha village & returned to Khost; guerrillas have begun returning to Pakistan. The offensive was one of the bloodiest of the war because both sides dug in to hold their ground rather than engage in the usual hit-and-run attacks.

9/23 - NYT - Mujahideen say the DRA Paktia offensive failed to cut their supply routes. Although the DRA mined the area before pulling out, guerrillas say they have already cleared the area around Jaji. Even so, Babrak told a tribal jirgah in Kabul that "the borders of Afghanistan are closed forever against the enemy like an unbreakable wall." Pakistani military analysts say the offensive probably hampered rebel arms-stocking efforts for the coming winter.

- US News & World Report - "American experts believe that Soviet casualties over the past 68 months may total 30,000, including perhaps 10,000 killed. The mujahideen toll may run between 50,000 to 100,000, although this is a guess. Western diplomats say there may be the same number of Afghan civilian casualties.



9/26 PT - A new DRA-Soviet offensive at Karseen in Paktia was reported by VOA. The radio said that ca. 2,500 troops were being used supported by tanks, armored vehicles, jet fighters & gunships. DRA troops also attacked mujahideen in Badghis causing heavy civilian casualties. Mujahideen attacked DRA troops in the Logar valley.

- Pakistan continues to spend \$1m daily on Afghan refugees. Half the money comes from foreign sources such as the UNHCR, World Food Program & voluntary agencies. (See 9/29)



China Red Cross donated school bags used by refugee children.

9/27 - UN Press Release - Shah Moh'd Dost, DRA Minister of Foreign Affairs, addressed the UNGA: "The popular foundation of revolutionary power is being strengthened every day. However, faced with the ever-increasing threat of massive armed invasion & direct aggression, Afghanistan has no other choice but to take appropriate measures for safeguarding its independence... It has requested & received from the Soviet Union friendly military assistance to help the Afghan people & armed forces repel outside interference... Afghanistan has made it clear on various occasions that the Soviet limited military contingent would return to its peaceful country... once the causes for their invitation ceased to exist & valid int'l guarantees were offered for their non-recurrence." Afghanistan has participated in the Geneva talks and supports them but he hoped that "Pakistan would abandon its rigid position & agree to holding direct negotiations. That is the only viable path to an amicable solution in the interest of all peoples of the region."

9/28 - PT - Babrak, in an address on Radio Kabul condemned Afghanistan's gov't, "describing it as a bloated sector laced with bribery, nepotism & anarchic tendencies." He indicated that some gov't servants were ignoring or even subverting Communist Party policy & called for a purge of the bureaucracy.

- Mujahideen attacked Soviet-DRA bases in Nimroz & Badakhshan. They killed 11 Khad members in a bomb blast in a Kandahar hotel.

9/29 - NYT - The UNHCR announced a \$92m shortfall in programs paid for by gov't contributions. It is the agency's most severe financial crisis in its 34-year history.

- PT - Afghan Army Chief of Staff Maj. Gen. Shahnawaz Tani was reported killed with 7 other high-ranking DRA officers when his tank hit a mine on 9/25 at Kharseen, 15 km southeast of Khost in Paktia. Mujahideen reportedly destroyed 9 aircraft in a missile attack on Begram airport near Kabul. Flights were suspended for several days because of damage to runways.

- 4 saboteurs were arrested near Zhob in Baluchistan for smuggling arms & ammunition into Pakistan from Afghanistan. Police there say that organized gangs, after training in Afghanistan, are sent into Pakistan to commit acts of sabotage. Quetta police arrested a gang of "car & scooter lifters" for thefts of same in Afghanistan & Pakistan. Some motorcycles & a scooter were recovered in the Panjpal RTV near Quetta.

10/1 - NYT - Charles Thornton, an American reporter for the Arizona Republic was killed when his jeep hit a mine, apparently during an ambush, 12 miles east of Kandahar. Other Americans wounded in the action were Peter Schleuler, a Phoenix photographer & 2 doctors, John Maugnum & Judd Jensen (see 10/3 & 10/7).

10/2 - NYT - DRA forces mounted hundreds of helicopter bombing strikes on guerrillas near Kabul on 9/24. Two guerrilla commanders were killed.

10/3 - SCMP - Tass referred to Charles Thornton's death as "inglorious" (see 10/1)

& /... In Phoenix, Arizona, editors of the Arizona Republic said its medical reporter, Mr. Thornton, 30, and Schluter, 29, had been working in Pakistan, ..

Mr Don Weidenweber, founder of the American Aid for Afghans based in Port-

land, Oregon, said Mr. Jensen is a doctor and Mr. Maugnum is a nurse working for the volunteer agency. He declined to give their ages or hometowns, saying, "I promised them I wouldn't give out information about them until they returned and they told me what they wanted to have released..."

10/5 - NYT - Mujahideen captured an army headquarters at Rightistan, east of Kandahar. They also nabbed the DRA area commissioner, Rozi Khan.
 - PT - The German daily Die Welt reports that between 7/80 & 12/84, 46,722 Afghans were sent to the USSR & 6,174 to East Germany, Bulgaria & Cuba. Over 10,000 children were sent last fall. Others who have had the privilege include 177 members of youth organizations, 824 relatives of party members killed in the fighting, 2,000 provincial party members, 740 employees of the Information Dept., over 1,000 employees of the state TV & radio networks & numerous contingents from the army & police departments.

10/6 - PT - The Babrak regime dismissed several top party & police officials in Logar for "subversive activities & opposition to good relations between Afghanistan & other friendly countries."

10/7 - NY Post - Niles Latham says the US is keeping quiet about the "murder" of Charles Thornton (see 10/1):

"Thornton, it appears, was the first American victim of the Soviets' unyielding censorship policy in Afghanistan.

The policy was laid down in October 1984 by Vitaly Smirov, the Soviet ambassador to Pakistan, when he told French reporters:

"I warn you and all of your journalistic colleagues: stop trying to infiltrate Afghanistan. From now on, the bandits and the so-called journalists... will be killed and our units in Afghanistan will help the Afghan forces to carry this out."

According to congressional sources, Thornton had been in Afghanistan for three weeks on assignment for the Arizona Republic.

Early last week, while he was traveling with a photographer and two American doctors about 18 miles northeast of Kandahar, his jeep was intercepted by helicopters loaded with elite Soviet Spetsnaz commandos.

Thornton reportedly was killed by machinegun fire and the doctors, Judd Jensen, of Chicago, and John Magnum, from Florida, have been missing ever since.

The photographer, Peter Schleuter, 29, survived and is giving key members of Congress an eyewitness account of how he believes the attack was deliberate — and not an unfortunate accident during a Soviet battle with Afghan freedom fighters as was initially reported.

Not a word was uttered by the state Dept. as spokesmen sought to duck the issue by reasoning that, since Thornton's body has not been found, there is no evidence that the incident took place.

10/7 - NYT - Some of the illegal immigrants nabbed by the Border Patrol have been Afghans trying to cross the US-Mexican border. Smugglers in various parts of the world are apparently selling them trips.

- PT - The Khyber Intercontinental Hotel in Peshawar will be renamed the Pearl Continental Hotel. It will be remodeled & more rooms added in an effort to attract more tourists to the NWFP.

10/9 - NYT - DRA forces pounded guerrilla strongholds in Paghman & the Logar Valley. A report that Cuba's charge d'affaires in Kabul had been shot dead by one of his staff could not be confirmed.

- Amnesty Int'l's 359-page report on human rights criticized Afghanistan for condemning people



LOS ANGELES TIMES "CANDID EYE" #20-25

Insiders say that even if Thornton's body is discovered, a diplomatic protest is unlikely because the State Dept., as a matter of policy, discourages Americans from entering Afghanistan.

If it made an issue out of Thornton, the reasoning goes, the department then would be responsible for him — and every other American in that strife-torn nation.

The official silence has angered Sens. Gordon Humphrey (R-N.H.) and Dennis DeConcini (D-Ariz.), who are planning press conferences this week to ensure that the incident gets proper attention.

The senators also want to show that, despite Gorbachev's "charm offensive" in Europe, things are business as usual in Afghanistan.

in courts that did not meet int'l fairness standards.

- Afghan News (Jamiat) - Soviet & DRA forces attacked mujahideen positions in the Khawja Ghar District of Takhar in retaliation for the guerilla capture of 3 Khad agents.

- PT - The Chief of the Islamic Conference said in New York that no state would be secure if the people of Afghanistan lose their battle for independence.

AFGHANISTAN FORUM



CONTENTS

VOL. XIII

November 1985

NO. 6

News stories	Begin on page
Chronology.....	3
Articles.....	12
Interview with Ghulam Wardak.....	20
Refugee news.....	22
The VOLAG Explosion.....	25
Events.....	28
Organizations.....	29
Recent Publications.....	31
Book Review.....	32
Babrak's Speech to the Tribal Jirgah.....	34

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ABBREVIATIONS USED

AICMB - Afghan Information Center Monthly Bulletin
AWSJ - Asian Wall Street Journal
CC - Central Committee
CSM - Christian Science Monitor
DRA - Democratic Republic of Afghanistan
DYOAA - Democratic Youth Organization of Afghanistan
FEER - Far Eastern Economic Review
FRG - Federal Republic of Germany
IHT - International Herald Tribune
KNT - Kabul New Times
NFF - National Fatherland Front
NWFP - North West Frontier Province
NYT - New York Times
PDPA - People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan
PT - Pakistan Times
RTV - Refugee Tent Village
SCMP - South China Morning Post
UNHCR - United Nations High Commission for Refugees
WDOA - Women's Democratic Organization of Afghanistan
WSJ - Wall Street Journal

Line drawing from the 1982 Afghanistan Calendar of the
Chicago Afghanistan Relief Committee.

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